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THE HISTORY OF Modern Enthusiasm, FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

Beware what Spirit rages in your Breast;
For Ten inspir'd *Ten Thousand are* possess'd.
Ld. ROSCOMMON.

For Virtue's self may too much Zeal be had;
The worst of Mad-men is a Saint *turn'd mad.*
POPE.

The Second Edition,

With very Large ADDITIONS and AMENDMENTS.

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Printed for the AUTHOR; and Sold by W. OWEN, near *Temple-Bar*; and W. CLARKE, at *Shakespear's-Head*, in *Threadneedle-Street*, behind the *Royal-Exchange*. 1757. [Price 2s. 6d.]

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PRE-

PREFACE.

IT has been a general Obſervation, that *Enthuſiaſm* very often ends in *Atheiſm:* Fiery Zealots, ſuch as imagine themſelves the peculiar Favourites of Heaven, when they begin to cool, grow remiſs in Duties, and by Degrees abandon all Thoughts of Religion, and plunge in all Manner of Vice and Immorality, as did JOHN LACY, Eſq; who was ſo great a Stickler for the *French* Prophets. There are too many Modern Inſtances of this lamentable Caſe. Though *Methodiſm* is now almoſt quite extinct, yet ſeveral of its dire Conſequences ſtill remain, as that Sin is *no Sin* in the Elect; that Faith can never be finally loſt; and that *once* a Saint, *for ever* a Saint, as OLIVER ſaid of himſelf: And conſequently the moſt Zealous of the Party now in a great meaſure wallow in Luſt and Senſuality, and never ſtick at any thing, be it ever ſo heinous.

This is a melancholy Reflection, that from ſuch ſeeming Heavenly-mindedneſs they ſhould ſo far degenerate, and ſink into utter Senſuality; more particularly the *Unitas Fratrum*, or *Moravians**, who in Principle and Practice are a Scandal to Chriſtianity! That inward *Experiences*, (as their Predeceſſors of the laſt Century made their Boaſt) *Diſpenſations*, *Manifeſtations*, *Diſcoveries*, *Improvements*, *Pledges*, *Privileges*, and *Prerogatives*; *Out-goings*, *In-goings*, and *Returns*; with abundance of ſuch canting Words and Phraſes †;---that all this glorious *Apparatus*, alas, ſhould end in fulfilling the Luſts of the Fleſh!——If any one had preſumed to tell them, a few Years ago, that this, in all Proba-

* V. The *Moravians* compared and detected. *Lond.* 1755.

† Dr. *J. Echard*'s Works, Part II. p. 92. Ed. ii. *Lond.* 1705.

bility, had been the Result of their indiscreet and over-heated Zeal, it would be counted rank Blasphemy! So that this very Thing does verify what I mentioned in the *Preface* to the First Edition, that it is but lost Labour to dispute and argue the Case with *Enthusiasts*. 'They go continually round this Circle, as Mr. LOCKE 'very justly observes; *It is a Revelation because they* '*firmly believe* it, and they *firmly believe it because it is a* '*Revelation.*——If it be demanded how they know 'such and such a Persuasion to be a Revelation from 'God, they will answer, *By the Light it brings with it,* '*which shines bright in their Minds, and they cannot resist.* '*Let them consider, that this mounts to no more than what* '*is observed already, viz. That it is a Revelation because* '*they strongly believe it to be true: And all the Light they* '*speak of is but a strong, tho' ungrounded, Persuasion of* '*their own Minds that it is a Truth.* St. PAUL *believed* '*he did well when he persecuted the Christians, whom he* '*confidently thought to be in the Wrong; and yet it was* he, '*and not* they, *that were mistaken. Good Men are Men* '*still, liable to Mistakes, and are sometimes warmly en-* '*gaged in Errors, which they take to be Divine Truths.*'* ——A Pretence to extraordinary Revelation has always been the Criterion of an Enthusiastick Brain, since Miracles are now ceased: And, when one's Imagination is heated with the fond Conceit of being a special Favourite of Heaven, and of holding a familiar Converse with the Deity, it is a very arduous Task, next to Impossibility, 'till it cools of itself, to rectify such a Bent of Mind, and dispossess such a fond and beguiling Spirit. As long as the hot Fit, or Paroxism, continues, no Arguments whatever prevail.

I always thought (whether in the Right or no I submit to better Judgments) that a concise and brief History of *Modern Enthusiasm* would be an useful Undertaking, as conducing *indirectly* (indeed) to the Service of Religion: For, as by by comparing Opposites the Contrariety appears more conspicuous than in viewing each apart, (*Opposita juxta se posita magis elucescunt* is a trite

* *Vid. Locke* on Human Understanding, Vol. II. p. 322.

trite Maxim in *Logick)* so *true* and undefiled Religion appears to better Advantage, more in its native Purity and Lustre, when compared with the wild Freaks and fanatick Notions of *Enthusiasts*. I could have wished that something of this Nature had been done by a Person of sufficient Ability; but, for want of such an accurate Performance, I ventured to set about it myself as well as I could, adjudging it more eligible to do something than to sit down idle, which to me is an intolerable Burthen: And there can be no juster Observation than that of SENECA, *Otium sine literis mors est, & hominis vivi sepultura.*

Whether the End proposed is attained or no, my Intention was to do some Good to the Interest of Religion. This was the sole Motive that induced me at first to engage in a Work of this Nature. But, notwithstanding, I have been severely reflected upon by a Set of Gentlemen that write the *Monthly Review*, a Paper that gives a Character of each Book or Pamphlet that is published in each Month of the Year. One of the Gentlemen, whose Province it was to criticise on Books and Pamphlets wrote on that and such other Subjects, is pleased to charge me with *Bitterness of Spirit*, and no Christian Temper. Now, the particular Expression, whereon this heavy Charge and Accusation against me is grounded, is the following.——Discoursing of the unchristian and wild Tenets of the *Quakers*, my Words are these: "Having thus fixed the Origin of *Quakerism*, [in 1650] which was at a Time (the Church "being pulled down) when the vilest, and most monstrous and numerous Spawn of multifarious Sects "that ever the bottomless Pit belched out broke loose "among us, as a just Punishment of Schism and Rebellion, I shall now give a more particular Character "of the Two first Champions that were the Master-Builders of this *Babel*, GEORGE FOX and JAMES "NAYLER."

On which Words (declaring only the Licentiousness of that particular Period) my Gentleman Censor makes this Remark: 'Doubtless the Facts that Mr. EVANS

'has collected together may in some measure answer 'the good Ends he proposes, if that End be not 'frustrated by the *Spirit of Bitterness* which he very 'often expresses against *all* Dissenters from our Esta-'blished Church and her Doctrine, lumping them to-'as a vile, monstrous Spawn, belched out of the bot-'tomless Pit.' *

I thought I had sufficiently guarded my Meaning against any *forced Inferences* in being *particular* in the Time specified, by the Expression, *When the Church was pulled down*, viz. in the Time of the Long Parliament and OLIVER's Usurpation: But notwithstanding, as explicit as I am, my Gentleman Critick (and, no doubt, by the Approbation of the rest of the learned Society) charges me roundly, that I *lump all* Dissenters, without Distinction, from first to last, as a Spawn of the bottomless Pit!——Now this is a direct Calumny: That is no Assertion of mine; far from it; and is by no means a Conclusion from the Premises, but a *false Inuendo* of the over-weening Censor. All that I say is this, 'That in those Times of Anarchy and Confusion, 'when the Church was persecuted, Episcopacy abo-'lished, the Liturgy laid aside as a Relict of Popery; 'when all that was Sacred was trampled upon; *then* 'indeed there was such an Inundation of the most vile 'and monstrous Heresies, that it seemed as if Hell had 'broke loose, when all Manner of Blasphemies were 'broached with Impunity.'

This is all that I say and mean; the rest is the strained, unnatural, and forced Interpretation of the *Reviewer*. Now the Expression that gave Offence is borrowed from a Treatise of the learned and pious Mr. LESLEY, which he *confines* to that unhappy Period that I am speaking of: Nor is he singular in his Judgment; for it is evident that such a Torrent of Impiety and impious Opinions had almost deluged a great Part of the Nation, and such vile and abominable Doctrine been industriously spread among the *Rabble*, that is scarce to be parallelled in any Age unless that of the impure *Gnosticks* in the Primitive Times. And, in order to vin-

* *Monthly* Review for February, 1752, p. 154.

dicate the above-mentioned Reverend Author, and myself in adopting his Saying, from the Aspersion of a *Bitterness of Spirit*, I will produce abundant Testimonies to justify the Expression that gave Offence, and that both of *Friends* and *Foes*.

I shall begin with the latter, as having more Weight, and less liable to Exceptions.——Mr. EDWARDS, a strict Presbyterian Minister, and one who had a perfect Knowledge of those Days, has professedly wrote a Treatise on that very Subject, and represents those Times as if *Satan* had broke loose more than ordinary; where all Manner of Blasphemies were vented with Impunity, and the Ridicule of all that was sacred! One will meet there with abundance of impious and detestable Tenets, that quite sap the Foundation of Christianity, and indeed of all Religion, Natural and Revealed. *

Mr. CASE, a rigid Covenanter, tells the Parliament, in his Thanksgiving Sermon for the Taking of *Chester*, 'That there was then such a numerous Increase of 'Errors and Heresies of all Sorts, as *(says he)* I blush 'to repeat what some have affirmed, namely, that there 'are no less than a Hundred and Four-score several 'Heresies propagated and spread in the City; and 'many of such a Nature, as that I may truly say, in 'CALVIN's Language, the Errors and Innovations un-'der which we groaned of late Years [*i. e.* under the 'Bishops] were but tolerable Trifles, and Children's 'Play, compared with those *damnable Doctrines, Doc-'trines of the Devil*†.'——This sure, let me add, comes up to the Expression that seemed so rigid to our *Censor*: *Damnable Doctrines, Doctrines of the Devil!* Then, according to Mr. CASE, the Teachers of those damnable Doctrines were surely a *monstrous Spawn, belched out from the bottomless Pit!*

Conformable to their Doctrine was their Life and Conversation: And it could not well be otherwise; for their Principles were a Sanctuary for the Secure, and a *Supersedeas* unto Duty; a Plea for the Presumptuous, and-

* Gangræna, p. 26, et passim.

† Vid. Friendly Deb. Part II. p. 5. Ed. 3.

and an Acquittance from Repentance*. Their Principles lead them to believe, 'That it was impossible for 'the Saints or Godly to fall into such a State wherein 'they *cannot be saved:* When there is such an absolute 'Decree past for their Salvation, then neither Sin, nor 'Hell, nor the Devil, can frustrate that Decree. Nay, 'they presumed to go farther, That the Power of God 'himself is not able to rescind it†.'——It must indeed be acknowledged, that in a Petition to Parliament, July 19, 1644, some of the most Discerning among them, that saw into the Evils of the then prevailing Doctrine, did propound, that some severe Course may be taken against *Adultery and Incest, which do greatly abound, especially of late Years, by reason of Impunity.* And at another Time they complain, that some are grown to *that Height of Wickedness, as to Worship the* DEVIL *himself.* ‖

Thus far have I vindicated the Assertion, that the Enormities of those Days of Anarchy (for that *Period alone* is the Subject of my Discourse) were so abominable as if the Gates of Hell flew open; a monstrous Spawn, if ever, from thence broke loose, and became the sure Guides of the Faction.

Such is the Confession even of Adversaries. I shall add a few more Testimonies from the Writings of Men of another Stamp. The noble Historian, Lord CLARENDON, has a severe, but just Remark at the Close of the Character he gives the Earl of *Manchester:* 'He 'died in a lucky Time, in the Beginning of the Re-'bellion, when neither Religion, Loyalty, Law, nor 'Wisdom, could have provided for any Man's Secu-'rity§.' The next Authority shall be that of the Right Reverend Dr. WILLIAM THOMAS, Bishop of St. *David*'s, who in a set Answer to the Objection of a Separatist, as a sorrowful Spectator, gives the following Character of those Days of Iniquity: *All the Doctrinals*

* *Diotrephes*' Dialogues, supposed to be wrote by Dr. *Patrick*, Bp. of *Ely*. p. 66, 113. Ed. *Lond.* 1661.

† *Ibid.* p. 120.

‖ *Vid.* Friend. Deb. Part I. p. 115. Part II. p. 133.

§ Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 55. *Oxon.* 1717.

*trinals of Christian Religion are exploded by some or other separated Members, who in this Climate, in a few Years, have vented more Heresies and Blasphemies than any Age, perhaps more than all the Ages, since the Apostles**. —— The learned Mr. GEO. ASHWELL, B. D. in a Treatise of his, entitled *Fides Apostolica*, printed at *Oxford*, 1653, in his Epistle to the Reader, makes a doleful Complaint of the *Blasphemies* and *Heresies* that were vented in that Age; 'An Age, says he, wherein the very Principles of 'Christianity are called in question, and Faith derided as the Portion of deluded Fools and Ideots.'---There was scarce an Article of the Creed but was attacked and oppugned in those black and dissolute Times. ——Mr. GEARY, who was also an Eye-witness of the Calamities then abounding, does observe, 'In those Times, 'says he, the viperous Brood of all Sects and Heresies 'swarmed through all Parts of the Nation: Then the '*Ranters* began to multiply, and the *Socinians* who 'deny the Divinity of Christ†.'——That Great Statesman Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, tho' he did not write professedly on that Subject, does yet take Notice incidentally, that *Enthusiasm and Delusion had too fatally over-spread our Country in that Age*‖. And, to name no more, that eminent Divine Dr. NICHOLS has the following Remark on the Times: 'The King 'being barbarously murdered, and the Church over-'thrown, the State of all Publick Affairs lay in the 'most desperate Condition; all Men's Estates and For-'tunes lay exposed to the Will of the Soldiers; and the '*Christian Religion* was almost *overwhelmed* by the mad 'Opinions of Heretical Sectaries: For at that Time it 'was a signal Mark of a Saint to be the Author of some 'monstrous Opinion.'§ In fine, "There were innu-"merable and *Diabolical* Sects, and so prodigiously "impious that it is not for a Christian to name "their Opinions."——Vid. *A Vindication of the Primitive*

* Apol. for the Ch. of *Engl.* p. 181. *Lond.* 1679.
† Ch. Hist. of *Great-Britain*, p. 359.
‖ *Temple*'s Miscellanea, p. 309.
§ Preface to the Defence of the Ch. of *Engl.* p. 63.

mitive Church against Mr. BAXTER's *Church-History*, p. 412, *Lond.* 1683.

What says Mr. *Censor* now? He should either let me alone, or have exercised his Talents equally against all those Great Men above-mentioned, and a great many more, that in effect have maintained the same Thing as the Expression that gave Offence, which I have borrowed from Mr. LESLEY.

I must here observe, that the Passage objected to is in the Chapter where I treat of the Rise and Growth of *Quakerism*. Whether any of the learned Gentlemen concerned in the Undertaking are of *that Persuasion* is what I cannot determine. There seems to me something very like it, more especially that bold Assertion, *that all are equally Priests*, without Distinction, under the Gospel Dispensation*. And in a Pamphlet, called *A View of the Three Spirits in Man*, there is a short Catechism prefixed, whereof one of the Learned Society gives the following Abstract: "*Q.* Who are the true "Ministers of Christ? *A.* They who are called thereto "by his Holy Spirit, and preach the Word freely, "without Hire, Fee, or Reward. *Q.* Who are the "false Ministers? *A.* A Set of People called pious "Cheats, Tythe-mongers, &c. *Q.* What are the Sa-"craments? *A.* There is no such Word in the Scrip-"tures: This new Doctrine was ushered into the "Church by the aforesaid holy Deceivers, who make a "Trade of the Scriptures, selling the Words of the Pro-"phets, Christ, and his Apostles, for Money; of whom "the Apostle bears Testimony, that, through *Covetous-"ness, they with feigned Words shall make Merchandise of "you*." *N. B.* This passes without the least Reflection; and it is an old Saying, that *Silence gives Consent*.

To conclude this Head, with all due Submission to better Judgments, I humbly conceive, that this learned Society have not *always* executed their Plan with equal Candour and strict Impartiality: It is possible that sometimes

* *Vid.* Monthly Review for April, 1753, p. 284.

† *Ibid.* February, 1754, p. 142.

times they may paſs a wrong Verdict. They beſtow very unbecoming Language on the Governors of the Church: Inaſmuch as the Biſhops do not exert themſelves to bring ſome Matters in the Liturgy to their peculiar Taſte, they are pleaſed to ſay, *How great a Reproach it is to the Governors of the Church not to exert themſelves vigorouſly on ſuch an Occaſion* [viz. for a Review of the Liturgy] *is obvious to every attentive Mind: But it ſeems that thoſe, to whom the Church has been moſt liberal, are the leaſt concerned for her Honour. What Wonder is it that Religion ſhould ſuffer, when her profeſſed Advocates ſhew ſuch Indifference to her* Intereſts?*——If ſuch Freedom is taken with the Governors of the Church, I could not expect to eſcape uncenſured: *If they have called the Maſter of the Houſe* Beelzebub, *how much more them of his Houſhold!* Matth. x. 25.

It is owing in a great meaſure to the Mal-treatment I received at the Hands of theſe Gentlemen, and in order further to elucidate the Hiſtory of thoſe dark Times, that in this *Second Edition* I have been at ſome Pains to collect Materials for a large additional Chapter, concerning the King's Murder, the Behaviour of the Regicides, and of the ſeditious Teachers that ſet them at Work; wherein is ſhewn, from the beſt Authority extant, that they acted by a *deluding Spirit of Enthuſiaſm.* Here you will find more aſtoniſhing Inſtances of the Hypocriſy and Villainy that were the diſtinguiſhing Characteriſtick of the Faction. 'No Picture is more 'hateful to God, and to Men when they ſee it plainly, ſays that good Man the learned Dr. WALL, 'than an '*Army-ſaint* with one Hand lifted up to God, and the 'other in his Neighbour's Pocket.' †

Inaſmuch as the ingenuous Authors of the *Review* take Notice that the Account of the *Methodiſts* is very ſhort, if *that would put them in a good Humour*, I have made a conſiderable Addition on that Subject: I have treated more at large of NICHOLAS LEWIS, Count *Zinzendorf*; and give a *freſh* Account of the *German* Enthuſiaſt,

* Monthly Review, Decemb. 1753, p. 447.
† Critical Notes on Matth. xxiii, 14. p. 29.

thusiast, so much admired by Mr. LAW, JACOB BEHMEN; together with the surprising *Chimeras* of Mr. LAW himself; his raving Fancies of a distempered Brain.

There is a Third Chapter added, concerning *Inspiration* Pagan and Christian, and the many Pretences to the latter, more especially of the rigid *Scotch* Covenanters in the last Century; extracted out of a noted Book, that went through many Editions, entitled *The Fulfilling of the Scriptures*. I shall here subjoin a famous Instance out of another Nation, that very lately came to my Hands. It is the Life of Dr. SAMUEL WINTER, Provost of *Dublin* College in the Time of the Usurper. 'As he was once praying for a sick Person in another 'Land, he had an Assurance of the Party's Recovery, 'by *an audible Voice*, and *a glorious Brightness* that shined 'round about him. He lay a whole Day in an Heavenly Rapture, *whether in the Body or out of the Body* 'he could not tell, in Imitation of the Apostle St. 'PAUL; and had a Glimpse of the ineffable Glory. 'And, in the Preface to his Life, the Author saith, 'that he saw the Heavens open, and heard a Voice, 'which said to him, *that neither he nor his should ever* '*want*. But this cannot be true, for his Son went a 'begging*.' From this, and several other Instances of the like Nature, a learned Divine makes the following pertinent Observation, *That, unless God in Mercy rebuke that Spirit of Enthusiasm which is gone out amongst us in these Three Kingdoms, we may have as many* Legends *from some Sort of Protestants as we have formerly had from the Church of Rome*†. It is no uncommon Thing that the Spirit of *Popery* speaks very often out of the *Mouths* of Fanatick Protestants.

But after all one may object, To what Good is all this? Had it not been better to bury in Oblivion than thus to expose the Rants of Enthusiasts? Better to heal, and skin over, than thus to rip open, old Sores? To

* *Vid.* Dr. *Hicks's* Sermon on Enthusiasm, p. 44. Ed. II. *Lond.* 1681.

† Dr *Hicks*, ibid.

To which I anſwer, By no Means, in my humble Opinion; and that for the Reaſons following.

I. This Method ſeems to me, naturally ſpeaking, the beſt Preſervative againſt the Growth of Enthuſiaſm. It is an old Obſervation in Ethics, at leaſt as old as ARISTOTLE, that Ἀντικείμενα παράλληλα μάλιστα φαίνεται. *Ariſt.* Rhet. Lib. iii. Cap. 4. *Cujus uſum* vid. Lib. ii. *Ubi affectus & mores ſenum ac juvenum contrarii ſic conferuntur, ut ex mutua collatione valde illuſtrentur.* Fr. Burgerſdicii Inſtit. Log. Lib. i. Cap. 21. The Spirit of *Enthuſiaſm* is a very dangerous Ingredient when it once gets the Dominion over a Man's Temper, and is become the *governing* Principle. Not to inſiſt on OLIVER and his Accomplices, who gave out that they had a *ſpecial Direction* from Heaven (to ſpeak in their Language) to *lay aſide* King CHARLES, *i. e.* to murder him, (for there might be ſomewhat of the Subtilty of the Serpent and Policy in that too) there want not ſeveral Inſtances in Hiſtory of Perſons, *ſeemingly* devout and zealous for Religion, that pretended a Divine Impulſe to commit the moſt horrid and unnatural Murder on their neareſt Relations. The noble Hiſtorian, Lord CLARENDON, in relating the Murder of the Duke of *Buckingham* by FELTON, (who pretended to commit the horrid Fact by a Divine Impulſe) has the following very pertinent Remark on the bloody Enthuſiaſt who was executed for the ſame: 'Upon the whole, the Death of 'this Malefactor may be of laſting Uſe to Mankind, 'if he be remembered as a ſtriking Example, that it is 'never ſafe to credit any Impulſe as the Work of God 'which is contrary to the known Laws eſtabliſhed by 'his revealed Will.' Such fatal Deluſions ought to be chronicled, that it may continue (indirectly indeed) as a Landmark to others to preſerve them from making a *Shipwreck of the Faith once delivered to the Saints.* And does not a ſober and rational Temper in the great Importance of a religious Life, ſuch as the Goſpel enjoins, appear more amiable, infinitely more eligible, when compared with the raving Deluſions of ſuch fiery Zealots? 'Religion, ſays a Perſon of Quality of diſtin-

'guished Worth*) which can only make the Mind 'happy, and is our surest and best Defence against the 'Passions, if considered in a wrong and melancholy 'View, has often perverted the Seat of Reason, and 'given more Inhabitants to *Bedlam* than any other 'Cause.'

The same Spirit of Enthusiastick Giddiness had possessed a great many Zealots of the last Century to take upon them to prophesy that the Day of Judgment was approaching, yea, and to determine the very Year and Day it should commence; which has caused an universal Distraction in weak Minds, who like *Children were tossed to and fro, and carried about with every Wind of Doctrine.*—— The same Spirit does yet work in the *Methodists*, who, upon certain Characteristicks taken from the *Revelation*, (but more truly from their own infatuated Imaginations) pretend to foretel that the *Glorious Millenium* begins to dawn upon the World, when the Wicked shall all be destroyed, and *they* (the Saints) shall alone bear Dominion. Finally, the same Spirit does still breathe, in the same Party and other Fanaticks, that the grossest Sins, as Incest, Adultery, Murder, &c. are no Sins in them, because they are the *Elect*; but are abominable Sins in others, because they are the *Reprobates*. I do only hint at these dire Consequences of *Enthusiasm* at present, as it were, *en passant*, having discoursed on that Subject more at large elsewhere. And ought not such accursed Effects of *Enthusiasm* to be registered for a standing Testimony against such horrid Doctrine, to the eternal Shame and Scandal of such deluding and deluded *Methodistical* Teachers?

II. Since Arguments and Reasoning will nothing avail with *Enthusiasts*, whilst the Paroxysm continues, let Matter of Fact convince those that are not yet infected with the Contagion, that such a Spirit leads into a *strong Delusion that they should believe a Lye.* 2 Thess. ii. 11. Let them soberly reflect, to what a spiritual Madness has the indulging *Enthusiasm* gradually carried melancholy Tempers! Perhaps, they meant well at the First

* Earl of Orrery.

First Setting-out; but the Enthusiastick Spirit has hurried them on by Degrees into inextricable Mazes and Labyrinths! Here they will see, as in a Mirror, *that they take their Dreams for a Converse with Spirits, their melancholy Fancies for Inspirations, and their own bewildered Thoughts for Heavenly Revelations*, as the Reverend Dr. PITTIS has very justly observed*. And elsewhere, discoursing of the national Frenzy a Century ago, when *Enthusiasm* rode triumphant, the same learned Divine has the following Remark on the Times: *We shall easily conclude*, says he, *that such a Doctrine cannot come from God, that teaches Men to do the Works of the Devil, nor the Principles that tend to Confusion among Mankind ever proceed from the God of Order; but they are upon the First Audit to be damned to the Place from whence they took their Original, and must be concluded to come from Hell, which thus fire and consume the World.* †

'There is not a more melancholy Object, says that great Observer of Men and Manners, the ingenuous Mr. ADDISON, 'than a Man who has his Head turned 'with *Religious Enthusiasm.* A Person that is crazed 'with Pride or Malice is a Sight very mortifying to 'Human Nature; but, when the Distemper arises 'from any indiscreet Fervors of Devotion, or too in-'tense an Application of Mind to its mistaken Duties, 'it deserves our Compassion in a more particular Man-'ner. We may however learn this Lesson from it, 'that Devotion itself (which one would be apt to think 'could not be too warm) may disorder the Mind unless 'its Heats are tempered with Caution and Prudence.--- 'Devotion, when it doth not lie under the Check of 'Reason, is very apt to degenerate into *Enthusiasm*; 'for, when the Mind finds herself very much enflamed 'with her Devotions, she is too much inclined to think 'they are not of her own Kindling, but blown up by 'something Divine or Supernatural within her. If she 'indulges this Thought too far, and humours the 'growing Passion, she at last flings herself into imagi-'nary

* Dr. *Pittis* his Discourse on the Trial of the Spirits, p. 40, 1683.
† *Ibid.* p. 92.

'nary Raptures and Extacies; and, when once she 'fancies herself under the Influence of a Divine Im-'pulse, it is no Wonder if she slights Human Ordinan-'ces, and refuses to comply with any established Form 'of Worship, as thinking herself directed by a much 'superior Guide.——Most of the Sects that fall short 'of the Church of *England* have in them strong Tinc-'tures of *Enthusiasm*, as the *Roman* Catholick Religion 'is one huge, over-grown Body of childish and idle 'Superstitions.——The great Occasion of the little 'Appearance of a religious Deportment in our Nation 'is certainly this: Those Swarms of *Sectaries*, which 'over-ran the Nation in the Time of the great Rebel-'lion, carried their Hypocrisy so high that they had 'converted *our* whole *Language* into a *Jargon* of En-'thusiasm, insomuch that upon the *Restoration* Men 'thought they could not recede too far from the Beha-'viour and Practice of those Persons who had made 'Religion a Cloak to so many Villainies.'

I shall close this Section in the Words of Mr. Archdeacon WAPLE. There are some that call themselves Christians, who know not *what Spirit they are of*, as (1.) They who pretend to new *Inspirations*, distinct from those of the Gospel, or vouch the inward Assurances of their Consciences to legitimate Actions quite contrary to the plain Commands of God, as if a Man should alledge the inward Perswasion of his Conscience for the Lawfulness of Murder or Adultery against the plain Words of the 6th and 7th Commandments.

There can be no greater Sign of *Diabolical Illusion* than this, for a Man to hearken to the Suggestion of what he miscals Conscience and the Spirit of God within him to the plain *Revelation* of God's Will in Scripture, the *Law* of *Nature*, and right Reason, which are to be a standing Rule and Guide of Men's Actions; not their own Opinions, howsoever confident they are of the Truth of them.

And therefore it is highly presumptuous, nay, blasphemous it is, of those Sectaries amongst us (such as NAYLER, VENNER, MUGLETON, &c.) who pretend

to

to immediate Inſpirations, to be Witneſſes and Prophets, and have thereupon framed many familiar Letters from CHRIST and the Holy Spirit; whereas God never ſent Prophets but with the Power of Miracles to confirm them; and our Saviour has particularly told us, that *falſe Prophets* ſhould come into the World, and that by *their Fruits we ſhall know them*, and that they are to be tried by the Goſpel.

Such alſo are thoſe who pretend to pray by the Spirit; that is, as that Phraſe is taken in Scripture, and underſtood by the miſguided of the common People, to have the Words and Matter of their Prayers immediately *dictated* unto them by the Holy Spirit. I do not deny that there is a Gift of *Praying Extempore*; but then, I ſay, this Gift can no more pretend to the Spirit than *Extempore Preaching* can, and is no more the Effect of the Holy Ghoſt than any other intellectual Habits or Accompliſhments of the Mind are. It is, as they are, gained by Study and Imitation, the Effect of Nature and Art, a good Memory, and a voluble Tongue, improved by a right Method of digeſting their Thoughts; a Stock of Scripture Phraſes, a natural Warmth of Temper, and a convenient Boldneſs and Preſence of Mind.

Now, to aſcribe this Faculty to the Holy Spirit, in any other Manner than as it aſſiſts the other Habits, *that is*, in an ordinary Manner under the Uſe of Endeavours, is a groſs Cheat, and the Cauſe of infinite Miſchief and Diſorders in the Church: For this Pretence is commonly the firſt Step to all other *Illuſions*; it makes Men *fanciful* rather than *devout*, and diſpoſes them to ſwallow down readily all the Errors of ſuch gifted Teachers, let them be ever ſo groſs and irrational. And therefore certainly they who have this Gift ought not to complain of the Church for endeavouring to reſtrain the Uſe of it, when they find it to be the Cauſe of ſo much Miſchief, and that it is ſo far from being the immediate Gift of the Spirit, that the bold and familiar Addreſſes, the rude and undecent Expoſtulations with God Almighty, the nauſeous Tautologies

and

and Repetitions, and the many Human Infirmities, too notoriously frequent in the *Extempore Prayers* of those of the greatest Skill and Eminency in that Way, sufficiently betray from what Spirit it proceeds; *to wit*, at best from *Natural Parts*, conducted and improved by the ordinary Grace of God; often from an *Enthusiastical Spirit*, and sometimes from a *Diabolical*.

(2.) They who have pretended to be endued with a *Zealotick Spirit*, acted by immediate Impulse from God, to do great and heroick Actions for the rooting out of Idolatry and overturning of Government; and thereupon have fancied themselves to be *Phinea's*, *Jeptha's*, and *Gideons*, Men raised up by an immediate Commission from God to conduct his Armies, and fight this Battles, and to murder and destroy Heretical and Idolatrous Kings and Princes: Such were CHASTEL, CLEMENT, and RAVILIAC, among the Papists; VENNER, and his 'Complices, amongst us; several stubborn *Zealots* in our Neighbour Nation, and particularly the Murderers of the *Archbishop* of St. *Andrew's*.

Now this is a wicked and dangerous Error, grounded upon a plain Mistake of the Difference betwixt the *Jewish* Government and all other Governments whatsoever: For the *Jewish* Government was plainly a *Theocracy*, in which God himself was their immediate Governor; and their Judges and Captains were Men raised up immediately by him, to put in Execution his own Laws, and to govern according to Rules of his more immediate Appointment: And therefore also he did sometimes inspire private Persons, and impowered them by his own Authority to do some extraordinary Actions; as Princes upon some necessary Occasions give extraordinary Commissions for Justice to be done upon some notorious Offenders; and *his Authority*, not *their Zeal*, legitimated the Action.

But now this Way of Government is ceased, and the written Word of God is our only Oracle; and we are not to expect any extraordinary Impulses in this Kind, but only the ordinary Operations of God's Spirit.——

Thus

Thus far the Reverend Mr. WAPLE, B. D. Archdeacon of *Taunton.* *

III. My Third and last Reason for publishing these Memoirs of Enthusiastick Rants is this, that I am in a manner compelled to it by way of Reprisal: For shall Mr. CALAMY, Mr. NEAL, and others of the same Stamp, be allowed the Liberty, in their lavish *Encomiums* on *Separatists*, to aspersе the Clergy of all Ranks and Order, from the Bishop to the meanest Curate, and so warmly plead the Cause of *Schism?* and shall the Members of the Established Church bear all the Obloquy and Scandal that Ill-will and Malice can suggest, sit still, and be silent? By no means; for that was to own the Charge.——Mr. CALAMY's First Edition of the Life of Mr. BAXTER was published in the Year 1702; and another more pompous Edition followed soon after, with the *Account of the ejected Ministers* in a set Volume apart, full of invidious Reflections on the *Establishment* and *Terms* of *Conformity*. The worthy and laborious Dr. WALKER, in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, printed *Anno* 1714, has retorted the Charge against him, and has discovered at large his gross Prevarications, and in some Measure exposed to publick View the Rancour and *Bitterness* of his Spirit. Mr. CALAMY indeed, to give him his Due, has an admirable Faculty in calumniating, and spreading Scandal, and traducing his Superiors. In a word, he is a *gifted* Man in Scurrility and foul Language. The blessed Apostle does foretel of such, *That in the last Days perilous Times shall come; for Men shall be Lovers of their own selves, Covetous, Boasters, Proud, Blasphemers,---without natural Affection, Truce-breakers, false Accusers, Incontinent, Fierce, Despisers of those that are good; Traitors, Heady, High-minded, Lovers of Pleasure more than Lovers of God*, &c. 2 Tim. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4.

As to the other Gentleman, Mr. DANIEL NEAL, he has very late published Four Volumes of *The History of the Puritans*; a Subject, one would think, that had better been left dormant: But he has revived it, and

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* His Vol. of Sermons, *Lond.* 1718. Vol. II. p. 72, 73.

has endeavoured all he could to conjure up that Spirit of *Fanaticism* that once contributed to overturn the Government in Church and State. In this Work "he "warps, and curtails, and mangles, Authorities; "picks out of an Author what he likes, tho' never so "slenderly supported; and omits taking Notice, even "in the same Author, of what makes against him*." In a word, his Volumes are full of Acrimony and malicious Invectives against the Principles and principal Men of the Establishment.

The First Volume has been answered with a great deal of Accuracy and Judgment (as is generally supposed, and I hear his Lordship does not disown it) by the Right Reverend the present most worthy and learned Bishop of *Worcester*, Dr. MADOX. It bears the Title of *The Vindication of the Government, Doctrine, and Worship, of the* Church of England, *established in the Reign of Queen* ELIZABETH, *against the injurious Reflections of Mr.* NEAL *in his First Volume of the History of the Puritans.* I have not seen this very learned Treatise; but I have been informed, by several Persons that have perused it, that therein Mr. NEAL's Misrepresentation of Facts, his Artifice in disguising Truth, his low Shifts, and falsifying of Authorities, are detected even to a *Demonstration.*

The Second Volume has been answered by the inquisitive Antiquarian and able Critick Dr. GREY; wherein also his numerous Mistakes in History, and wilful Prevarications, are exposed to publick View: But, notwithstanding all this, hardened against the clearest Conviction, and resolved to maintain his Cause right or wrong, he had the Effrontery, in 1732, to publish Two other Volumes on the same Subject.——It had been abundantly better for his Credit among Men of Virtue, and tending to the Peace of his Conscience, (if it is not grown callous) to have retracted his former Errors, and to beg Pardon of the World, whom he had imposed upon, than still to carry on the Cause of Schism by such *iniquitous* Means.

Now,

* Dr. Grey's Answer to the 2d Vol. p. 4.

Now, ſince the *Controverſy* has been revived by a Set of Men that ought to be eaſy under that Indulgence with which the Law of the Land has favoured them, I cannot think it at all amiſs to pry a little into *their* Secret Hiſtory, (which a great Part of the World is a ſtranger to) and repreſent in a true Light ſome of their dangerous Tenets and mad Flights in *Enthuſiaſm*.

Beſides theſe Two former, there is a Third Man of Note in great Credit among the Party, Mr. COTTON MATHER, Paſtor of the Church of *Boſton*, in *New-England*, who has wrote a large *Folio* Volume, divided into Seven Books, of the remarkable Providences that befriended the rigid Preſbyterians, or *Independents*, of that Province, from its firſt Planting, in the Year 1620, unto the Year of our Lord 1698. Here one will find a continued Series of Miracles diſplayed in Favour of that turbulent Sect, and in Confirmation of the different Branches of Doctrine that are its diſtinguiſhed Badge and Livery. But that alone did not ſuffice: It was not enough that the *Independents* were under the ſpecial Protection of Heaven, whereof numerous Inſtances, as they pretend, are given; but in *New-England* the Work was not complete unleſs they beſtow the vileſt and moſt ſcurrilous Language on the *National Church* eſtabliſhed in *Old-England!* yea, the moſt uncharitable and horrid Expreſſions that inveterate Malice and Ill-will could ſuggeſt! This foul Language is plentifully dealt out, and interſperſed thro' all this voluminous Work, the Hiſtory of Mr. COTTON MATHER; the Epiſcopal Church of *England* being never mentioned, (as it is very often on purpoſe and deſignedly) but always repreſented as a *Tyrannical, Anti-chriſtian, perſecuting Hierarchy, laying unconſcionable Impoſitions upon the Lord's People, remarkable for true Chriſtianity*. This very coarſe and unchriſtian Language is every where plentifully beſtowed, with a Heart full of Rancour, (if we may judge of any Thing by *Overt-acts*) on the Epiſcopal Reformed Church, as if Charity was rather the *Bane* than the Perfection of Virtue.

I have made choice of theſe Three Writers more

particularly (not but there is Abundance wrote in the same Spirit of Bitterness by almost all the *Scribes* of the Party, but) because they are of universal Esteem among them; there being scarce a Family of any Note, or a Preacher that knows any Thing of the World, but has them in his Possession. It is certainly a just Observation, that I have read somewhere, and marked in my *Adversaria*, 'If an over-weening Conceit of their 'own Righteousness and Sanctity, and a genuine Spirit 'of Bitterness in censuring others, be a true Sign of 'Saintship; then, besides other Sectarists, the *Independents* and *Presbyterians* have an indubitable Claim 'to it. Let Mr. COTTON MATHER be a sufficient 'Proof of the former in his Church-History of *New-England*; and Mr. EDMUND CALAMY, a sufficient 'Attestation of the latter in his Life of Mr. RICHARD 'BAXTER.'—And as to Mr. BAXTER himself, to give him his Due, he is a Match for any of his Brethren in bestowing hard Names on the Governors of the Church. He is not satisfied to call the Bishops of the Time he lived in *Turbulent Prelates*; *silencing*, *destroying Prelates*; *proud*, *ambitious*, *Hereticating Prelates*; [these are his own Words] but he must likewise brand the Bishops of the Primitive Church, most of them Martyrs and Confessors, as so many *Firebrands of the World*; *self-conceited*, *merciless*, *furious Bishops*; *the Confounders of Churches* [these again are his own Words]. This is the Temper of the *Catholick*, of the *mere Christian*, as Mr. B. is pleased to stile himself. *Bitterness*, and *Wrath*, and *Clamour*, and *Evil-speaking*, are these the Fruits of that *Catholick* and mere Christian Spirit? To say no worse, *This Spirit cometh not of him that calleth us.*——For this Reason it is that in this Second Edition I have somewhat enlarged on this Man's Character, whom so many admire, and others, upon as good Grounds, make but little Account of.——Vid. *A Vindication of the Primitive Church*, p. xi. of the Preface.

The Protestant Churches abroad are in a happy State, in that they *keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace*, being altogether free from the Jarrs, and Discords,

cords, and Divisions, that are the Result of so many different Sectaries tolerated in this Kingdom. There is never a Dissenter, of *any Denomination*, that dares lift up his Head in the Established Churches of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, which have reformed according to the Plan and Doctrine of LUTHER; and they have very nigh as great an Aversion to a *Calvinist* as to a *Papist*. But in *England* Schisms and Divisions of all Sorts abound, to the Scandal of Christianity, where *Union* is above all recommended, and no where less practised than in this Kingdom, and in some of the Provinces of *Holland*, where *Calvinism* is the Established Religion: And it is *worthy* of Observation, that no sooner any obscene Ribaldry is vented abroad than it meets with a hearty Reception in *England*. The Life of Sister CATHERINE, a Nun of the Order of our *Lady*, printed at *Paris*, 1628, is a famous Piece, recommended by a *Cardinal*, and an *Archbishop*, besides *Sorbonnists*, and several Doctors of Divinity; and yet the whole, in the Judgment of Dr. MERIC CAUSABON, (Son of the most learned ISAAC CAUSABON, and a great Sufferer for his Loyalty in *England**) is but a tedious Narration of several strange Raptures and Enthusiastick Fits that possessed the Imagination of a Melancholick Recluse†. But, notwithstanding, she had her Admirers in *England*, and was looked upon to be a Person that was illuminated, as well as some of her Sex have been by the deluded *Independents* of *New-England*, particularly Mrs. HUTCHINSON, of whom I have treated towards the Beginning of the Fourth Chapter.

But that which made of late the greatest Noise in that Kingdom is a Book, impiously so named, *The Light of the World*, wrote by a bigoted Enthusiast, Mademoiselle ANTHONIETTA BOURIGNON ‖; first published by Mr. CHRISTIAN DE CORT, a Popish Priest; and some Time ago translated into *English*, *Anno* 1696. There are in it great

* See an Account of his Sufferings in Dr. *Walker*, p. 8.

† *Vid.* his Treatise on Enthusiasm, Chap. iii. p. 119, and in the Preface.

‖ See more of this gifted Lady in Chap xi.

great Flights of Religion; it could not otherwise deceive the World; as he that would cheat with bad Coin mixes a great many Pieces of good Coin among the bad: But the Poison of her Enthusiastick Rants lies concealed in her pretended Communications with God; that she asked Questions of him, and had particular Answers in Return; and that she could, even without Premeditation, explain the Scriptures so perfectly that none of the Primitive Fathers of the Church had ever so done. Tho' this devout Lady doth very often brag of her complete Knowledge of Scripture, together with the Interpretation of all Mysteries and Prophecies therein contained, yet sometimes she is pleased to express herself (as other Papists) in very disrespectful and indifferent Terms about the Dignity of Scripture, has a very low Esteem of it, and sets off the *whole* of Religion (as other *Enthusiasts* do) on waiting upon Revelations from Heaven. This gifted Lady had also a very mean Opinion of the Satisfaction made to Divine Justice by JESUS CHRIST; but that his Death and Sufferings, in her profound Judgment, were not *intended*, but only come to pass by mere *Accident*. Notwithstanding all this, and several *odd Chimeras*, the Ravings of a distempered Brain, Monsieur POIRET sticks not to declare, with an Air of Blasphemy, *Tam certus sum illam virginem inspiratam esse, quam Deum existere*, i. e. that he was as sure that that Virgin was inspired, as that God had a Being.

Now, as strange a Medley and *Farrago* of Blasphemies, Rants, Extravagances, and Enthusiastick Flights, as her whole System is composed of, yet it was propagated in *England* with great Zeal and Assiduity. And Two very noted (but sober and orthodox) Divines, Mr. LESLEY, and Mr. BAYLY, late Rector of St. *James*'s in *Bristol*, were very rudely treated, and abundance of ill Language bestowed upon them, by one of her Partizans in *England*, for no other Reason but that they endeavoured to stop the Growth of such a pestilent Contagion. 'Tis from this Lady, and JACOB BEHMEN, the *German* Enthusiast, that Mr. LAW has bor-

borrowed most, if not all, of his wild and extravagant Fancies, as is treated of at large in *Chap.* X. altho' I did not know it then for certain, at the Time of Writing.

And, very late, Mr. J. WESLEY has published an Extract of the Life of Monsieur DE RENTY, a strong Papist, and a *Frenchman* of Quality; the Tenor of whose Life and Actions is one continued Scheme of Enthusiasm; which is the Reason, it seems, of his being in such a high Degree of Favour with Mr. WESLEY, and recommended as a worthy Pattern to tread in his Steps. This, I say, is probably his Reason, and not Mr. RENTY's strong Attachment to Popery, and his great Zeal to make Converts to the same. *

I have entirely omitted to give a particular Account of several bold Enthusiasts who wrote Comments on the Book of *Daniel* and the *Revelation*, such as Mr. BRIGHTMAN, Mr. BRIDGES, Mr. ARCHER, and many other hot-headed and dangerous Expositors, (mentioned in the *Friendly Debate*, wrote by the most learned Dr. PATRICK, Bishop of *Ely*) tho' they are within the Reach of my Subject. They apply at *Random* the Prophetick Visions in both the *Old* and *New* Testaments to serve their own particular Interest; and every body knows what that was, to blow up the furious Zeal of the Rabble to devour and destroy the Royalists, and to propagate the Gospel, like MAHOMET, with Fire and Sword. Yea, which is amazing, such was their Penetration, that they found the several *Committees* of the *Rebel-Parliament*, in abolishing Episcopacy and the Liturgy, prefigured in some Type or other in the *Revelation!* And, that nothing might escape their Notice, BURTON, PRIN, and BASTWICK, (of whom I shall elsewhere treat at large) are some of the Witnesses prophecied of by St. JOHN to be the Champions of the *good old Cause!*——It would be endless to rake into all their ill-grounded and wild chimerical Fancies; and yet all pretend a Divine Inspiration! which, however *inconsistent* and extravagant, did all center in this, to harrass without Mercy the Friends of Monarchy and the esta-

* *Vid.* Comparison of *Methodists* and Papists, Part ii. p. 173, &c.

eſtabliſhed Epiſcopal Church, whom they were pleaſed to call the *Anti-chriſtian* and *Popiſh Party*, the *Children of Belial*, and the *Followers* of the *Dragon:* But their own dear ſelves they eſteemed (as prophecied of in the *Revelation)* the *Witneſſes* of JESUS CHRIST, the *Godly Party*, the *Saints* that are to *rule the Nations*, and the *Followers of the Lamb.* Theſe Inſtances indeed, as I mentioned, are the proper Subjects of *Enthuſiaſm*; but then I was afraid that ſuch a Detail of *Fanatick Blunders* would nauſeate and be tedious.——Vid. *Bp.* PATRICK *his Friendly Debate*, Part. II. p. 67, 71. Lond. 1669.

I have taken no Notice of the famous Dr. JOHN DU, alias DEE, who pretended ſuch a Familiarity and Converſation with Spirits, and who was ſo confident of a Divine Call, that he made a purpoſe Journey to *Vienna* to admoniſh the Emperor RODOLPH to deſiſt from ſome Actions that were diſpleaſing to God. He was admitted in due Form to an Audience, wherein he acquaints his Imperial Majeſty, that he had a Special Command by the Miniſtry of Angels to declare this extraordinary Meſſage; and met at firſt with a very kind Reception, as being a Perſon of Learning, and whoſe Fame had ſpread all over the politeſt Part of *Europe:* Yet at laſt, after ſome Weeks' Attendance, the Emperor ſent one of his Court to acquaint him, "That he had no Need of his extraordinary Advice in "that Affair, but would rather conſult his Confeſſor "than to give Credit to his pretended Angelical "Miſſion." Mr. CAMDEN gives a good Character of him as an able Mathematician; but abroad he was generally looked upon as a kind of a Madman, and a *Conjuror*, as may be ſeen at large in a *Folio* Treatiſe with this Title, *A true Relation of Dr.* JOHN DEE (a famous Mathematician in the Reigns of Queen ELIZABETH and King JAMES) *his Actions with Spirits*, p. 230, &c. publiſhed by Dr. MERIC CAUSABON, Lond. 1659. *penes me.*

Had I a Mind to be voluminous, I might dwell largely on the particular Whims and Enthuſiaſms of a great many particular Perſons that made a Flaſh, but ſoon

ex-

extinct, such as are mentioned incidentally by some or other of our *English* Historians; such as that of Mr. ASGILL his fond Conceit that there is a Possibility of Man being made *immortal*, by using the Means by him prescribed, as was that of ADAM in his State of Innocence before the Fall: And, persisting in it, for this and some other Enthusiastick Rants he was expelled the House of Commons in *Ireland*.

Every Body knows that it is impossible to hit the Taste of and please all Readers upon such a critical Subject as this. I had sufficient Experience of it already on the First Impression. But, if I have the Satisfaction of reclaiming but a *few* that are gone astray, or of pleasing but a *few* that are the Friends of sober Religion, equally guarded against the Two dangerous Extremes of *Superstition* on the one Hand, and *Enthusiasm* on the other, I have what I aimed at; it is enough.

May-day, 1756.

THEOPHILUS EVANS,

Vicar of St. David's, *in* Brecon.

CONTENTS.

[*N. B.* Besides the *Preface* to this Second Edition, being almost entirely a-new, some Amendments and Additions to most Chapters of the First Edition, (particularly that concerning the *Quakers*) the Chapters marked thus † are entire *Additions*.]

CONTENTS.

THE

THE HISTORY OF Modern Enthusiasm.

CHAP. I.

Of NATURAL ENTHUSIASM.

IT is a common Obſervation, That nothing remarkable and above the ordinary Pitch of vulgar Conceptions has been wrote, either in Oratory or Poetry, but when the Author was actuated by ſome Enthuſiaſtick Heat, and ſome *Ardor* and *Impetus* of the Mind, that hath ſome Affinity to Madneſs. " I believe (ſays Dr. M. CAUSABON) that never " any Great Work, that was the Fruit of the Brain, and that " begot Admiration, was atchieved, but was alſo the Fruit of " ſome Natural Enthuſiaſm." ARISTIDES, an excellent Orator, but a very Bigot to Heatheniſm, compares it to the Heat by which Soldiers, at the firſt joining of Battle, are uſually carried and inflamed beyond all Senſe of Death and Danger.

Several Antient Orators did apprehend themſelves, and were ſo apprehended by divers others, to be, in ſome Sort, inſpired or agitated by ſome higher Power than bare Nature could pretend to. ARISTOTLE, a Man of a vaſt extenſive Knowledge, and an univerſal Philoſopher, does yet maintain, That no Perſon can excel and ſhine in any Compoſition but he muſt feel the Influence of an Enthuſiaſtical Fire to warm and elevate his Soul above low and ordinary Thoughts. And DIONYSIUS

LONGINUS, a great Master of the Grand and Sublime, (as witness that Tract of his now extant upon that Subject) speaks much to the same Purpose. And LONGINUS, tho' a Heathen by Profession, yet was not very superstitious, as may appear by this, That he durst challenge HOMER, tho' a Poet, (upon whom especially the Pagan Theology was grounded) of Atheism and the grossest Absurdity, for making the *Gods* to fight with Men and amongst themselves, and not only to fight, but to be wounded also.

An Heat, a Fire, that does warm the Mind, and makes the Imagination glow, (which the Latins call *Ardor* and *Impetus*) must then enliven and invigorate an Oration that would bear the Test of able and sound Criticks: That gives Life and Soul into it, insomuch that some have thought that no other Art was necessary to make a compleat Orator. Hence saith CICERO of himself, *Nulla me ingenii, sed magna vis animi inflammat ut me ipse non teneam.* CICERO, 'tis true, had a vast Conceit of his own Performances; which yet the ablest Criticks, both Modern and Antient, and among the rest PLINY, do allow he had Reason to do: And QUINTILIAN doth pass this Judgment in particular, "That he may well think of his own Proficiency who "begins to relish CICERO above all Authors." He must mean *Latin* Authors, for generally the Preference is given to DEMOSTHENES in *Greek*.

As to DEMOSTHENES his Character I need say no more than this, That DIONYSIUS, of *Halicarnassus*, (a Man of great Ability himself in Point of Eloquence, and of great Judgment to judge of the Ability of others, rather severe than favourable in most of his Censures) doth very solemnly deliver and protest of himself, "That, when he did set himself to read DEMOS-"THENES his Orations, he was so taken therewith as to be al-"most beside himself, being so transported with the Energy "of his Divine Eloquence; whereby, says he, we may guess "how those of his Time, that heard him and were interested "in the Subject of those Orations, were affected, when the "bare Reading hath such an Operation on us so little concerned "in them and so long after."

And it is worthy of Observation, that the sage and grave SENECA, so abounding with sententious Precepts of Morality, doth peremptorily maintain, That this Sort of Enthusiasm is a necessary Ingredient to make a transcendent Wit. *Non potest grande aliquid*, says he, *& supra cæteros loqui, nisi mota mens.*

There were in antient Times (long before the Incarnation of JESUS CHRIST) a Sect distinguished by the Name of *Sophists*, which Title was more honourable than that either of *Orators* or *Phi-*

Philosophers, and in fact raised it to that Height of Estimation, that even the Grandees and some Princes were ambitious of that Title, and thought it no Disparagement to their Rank and Dignity to be accounted their Friends and Supporters, and publickly to resort to their Schools and Oratories.

The first Man that made any Figure in the World of this Sect was one PRODICUS. This Man, rambling from Town to Town, and from Village to Village, did, in set Harangues somewhat dogmatically and rhetorically composed, admonish the People to abstain from Pleasures which enervate the Mind, and embrace Virtue after the Example of HERCULES, which was very often urged in those Days, to excite the People to Labour and Industry. His Discourse, tho' it was always and every where chiefly on the same Subject, and with but little Variety of Expression, yet was he crowded every where with a vast Concourse of People, and was held in very great Esteem and Respect.

This being observed by one GORGIAS, a subtle Man, and one of excellent natural Parts, he applied himself with great Diligence to the Study of Rhetorick and Eloquence, and by continual Exercise and Practice he very much improved his natural Talents and Abilities.——Encouraged by several successful Harangues, which were received by the general Applause of the Multitude, he adventured at last to make his publick Appearance in the most august Assembly that was then in any Part of the World, viz. at the *Olympick Games*, solemnised every Fifth Year in some Part of *Greece*.

There GORGIAS displayed his Talents to such Advantage, that he got immortal Honour. He was received by the Acclamations of the People as if he had been the God of Eloquence himself, and not an eloquent Man, and not long after had a Statue erected to his Memory in the Temple of APOLLO.

Henceforward such publick Declaimers were called *Sophists*, or wise Men; for the Word comes from the Original Σοφία, *i. e.* Wisdom, whence they assumed that big Appellation of *Sophists*, in respect to which a *Philosopher* is a very modest Character, which signifies a *Lover of Wisdom*.——They pretended to speak by a Divine Impulse, as being inspired, tho' it was no more than an unwearied Diligence and Application to attain to such a Faculty as to be able, upon any sudden Occasion, to speak somewhat pertinently without any Premeditation.——Their History at Large may be seen, wrote by CRESOLLIUS, a Jesuit, in a Book, entitled, *Theatrum veterum Rhetorum*, printed at *Paris* 1620.

If no other Use would be made of this short Account of the *Sophists*, so famous of old in *Greece*, yet of this I am certain, it may serve as a Key to let us into the Meaning of several Passages in the Writings of St. PAUL, where his arguing that the Providence of God would not lay the Foundation of the Gospel, as not in the Force of Arms, so neither of Eloquence and artificial Speech, such as that of the *Sophists*, or the wise Men of this World; as 1 *Cor.* i. 17. I was sent to evangelise, *not with Wisdom of Words*, or *Speech*, i. e. not with that Rhetorical Eloquence practised by the *Sophists*; and Ch. ii. 4. *not with enticing Words of Man's Wisdom*; and again, *not in the Words which Man's Wisdom teacheth*; which all along have a direct Tendency and Allusion to the *Sophists*, those admired Disputants of *Greece*, and probably the Darlings of the learned *Corinthians*. Vide 1 *Cor.* i. 20.

This shall suffice for a Sketch of *Oratorial* Enthusiasm.—— As to *Poetical* Enthusiasm, it was with them more *intense*, and, as they would have it, mere Inspiration.——*Sedibus æthereis Spiritus ille venit*, says OVID, who, notwithstanding, had no sublime Fancy and Vivacity of Invention.——" No Poet can " do any Thing great in his own Way without the Imagination " or Supposition of a Divine Presence, which may rise him to " some Degree of Enthusiasm," says a Great Man, certainly orthodox in *this*, however *free* and *loose* his *Thoughts* might have been on other Subjects*. But this is not my intended Subject. It is an Enthusiasm of the worse Sort, viz. Religious Enthusiasm, which shall be treated of in the following Chapters.

* Characterist. Vol. I. p. 53.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of Religious Enthusiasm. Of the Family of Love. The Rise of the Puritan Faction. Of PETER BURCHET. *The horrid Blasphemies of* W. HACKET. *The whimsical Names the Puritans gave their Children at their Baptism.*

ENTHUSIASM is a Greek Word, and may be defined, in the Acceptation that we now take it, to be "a full, but erroneous, Belief and Persuasion that whatever one does "act, or speak, or think, is from Divine Inspiration." And herein lies the Difference between an *Enthusiast* and an *Impostor*; the one in the Heat of Imagination does really think that he is actuated by a Divine Power and supernatural Impulse, tho' this may chance to be the Consequence of adust Choler, or a distemper'd Brain, or a blind, but eager Zeal violently attached to some extravagant Opinion or other, which a bewildered Fancy caresses; but the *Impostor* acts against the Dictates of his own Conscience, pretends to Raptures and Visions knowing they are counterfeit and false, and his sole Purpose is to *deceive*, knowing himself to be a *Deceiver*.

Of detestable Sects and Heresies on the Pretence of Divine Inspiration, or other less prevalent Motives, whereby Christianity hath been divided, defamed, and corrupted, Ecclesiastical Histories are full, those especially that have been written professedly on that Subject, as by EPIPHANIUS and AUGUSTINE, where one will find strange Opinions pertinaciously held and vented by Men of too forward and rash Zeal that loses itself in the Mazes of Error and Delusion. And that which is most to be lamented is, that some Men, otherwise of great Worth and Ability, thro' mere Ignorance of natural Causes, have been seduced by supposed Raptures and extatick Motions, and made Shipwreck of the true Faith. It has been an old Remark, That TERTULLIAN had never been an *Heretick*, had he been a *better Naturalist*: And yet TERTULLIAN, such a Man for Life and Learning otherwise as can hardly be parallelled by any of his Cotemporaries, *warped* to the Sect of the *Montanists*, in whom the Church had as great Loss, and lamented it as much, (saith VINCENTIUS LYRINENSIS) as almost it ever had in any one Man. But I am confined to *Modern Enthusiasm*, such as appeared in *England* since the *Reformation*.

The

The first, in order of Time, that made any great Noise in the World, is the *Family of Love*, an impious and profane Sect of *Dutch* Extraction, who made their first Appearance in *England* a few Years after the Reformation. The Author of this abominable Sect was one DAVID GEORGE, of *Delph*, in *Holland*, a Man of low Parentage, yet of good natural Parts, a comely Person to look on, and of a graceful Presence. * He was affable and courteous in his Behaviour, discreet in most Things, yet cunning and reserved. This Man was perhaps one of the greatest Enthusiasts that ever was known in the World for the monstrous Opinions that he held and endeavoured to propagate. He first began, as usual, with extraordinary Raptures, and, in a *Jargon* peculiar to himself and Followers, did profess an *Union* with God, [from which the *Quakers* did borrow their Blasphemy of an *Equality* with God, and that the Godhead dwells bodily in their Teachers]. At last he gave out that he was the Messias, † and did most blasphemously apply several Texts of Scripture as prophesied of him; that he had Power to forgive Sins; that Angels and Devils are only Virtues and Vices; and lastly, as the most engaging Doctrine, that Matrimony is free, and that no Man is confined to one Woman, but that Procreation of Children shall be in common to all those that are born again by the Spirit of DAVID GEORGE.——Hence they assumed the distinguishing Title of the *Family of Love*.

He told his Disciples, at first, that he was immortal; but, when he found the Symptoms of Death approaching, in order to keep up the Spirits of his deluded Followers, he assured them that he would rise again within Three Years; which was, indeed, in some ill-favoured Manner fulfilled, for he died at *Basil* in 1556, and was dug up again by Order of the Magistrates in the Year 1559.

This Man's chief Disciple was one HENRY NICHOLAS, of *Leyden*, whose Province was somewhat to new-model, and set a fair Gloss upon, the impious Doctrine of his Master, whereby it was the more easily swallowed, as coarse as it was.——As to what I mentioned from Dr. H. MORE of the Community of Women, I find some of our *Methodists* jump in the same *Mahometan* Judgment, as witness the vigorous Teacher late of *Salisbury*, as related in a Letter bearing Date from thence, *October* 30, 1747, printed in the *Gen. Ev. Post*, and is as follows.

To

* Dr. H. More his Enthusiasm Triumphatus, p. 12.

† The same did J. Naylor, the Proud Quaker, and was pilloried for his Blasphemy at *Bristol*.

To the PRINTER, *&c.*

" *SIR*,

" As you readily give a Place in your Paper to whatever re-
" gards the Welfare of Society, I beg you will insert the fol-
" lowing Account, which, as it is undoubtedly true, highly
" deserves the Attention of the Publick."

There has been, for some Years past, a considerable Number of Methodists *in this City, who were at first collected, and have since continued, under the Guidance of Mr.* ———, *as their Minister. This Man, by means of an uncommon Appearance of Sanctity and Devotion, joined with indefatigable Labour in Field and House-preaching, drew Multitudes of the meaner Sort of People, both of Dissenters and the Established Church, to attend him. And tho' the grossest Absurdities have been continually advanced by him, both in his Preachings and Writings, yet he had so bewitched his Followers, that they paid the most implicit Regard thereto, insomuch that his Words had greater Weight with many among them than the most express Declarations of Christ or his Apostles.*

—— *Many sober and judicious Persons have often expressed their Fears, that the nocturnal Meetings held at his House were Scenes of Debauchery and Impurity, for now and then a Bastard Child was brought into the World by some of his Female Devotees. But still the Priest himself was unsuspected by the World, 'till now the Hypocrite is detected, and his Vices made publick, to the Scandal and Astonishment of the whole City: For one of the principal Leaders of his Female Disciples, a Girl of about* 18 *Years of Age, has declared herself with Child by the said Preacher.*——*Being reproved by some among them for so foul a Deed, he boldly declared,* He thought it no Harm, but, on the contrary, that, if a Man's Constitution required it, he might lawfully have to do with more than one Woman, provided it be not with the Wife of another. *And to confirm them in the Faith thereof, he had the Impudence, last Wednesday Evening, (when he took a formal Leave of his deluded and corrupted Flock) to justify the Practice from the Case of* Elkanah, *as related* 1. Sam. i. *on which he largely expounded.*—— N. B. *This pretended Saint had a Wife and several Children. This licentious Practice he has vindicated in Print.*

But to return from this Digression, if it may be called so. I cannot be positive that the monstrous Tenets at first broached by DAVID GEORGE gained any great Number of Proselytes in *England*, however fond of Novelties the Nation is noted for: But certain it is they met with a kind Reception, as they were some

[illegible] HENRY NICHOLAS, [illegible] Sect was made to their Progress by the fashionable Interposition of the [illegible] Members [illegible] the Hand. —— And [illegible] HENRY NICHOLAS, notwithstanding he somewhat polished his Master's Doctrine, [illegible] the whole History of Christ and his Miracles, [illegible] a most horrid Blasphemy, [illegible] and [illegible] Assertions [illegible] were well [illegible] that he was [illegible] with the Devil, that all that [illegible] Sense of the Love and [illegible], and that [illegible] Tenets [illegible] Communion are a Nest of evil Spirits. [illegible] was supported by the Pride and Fury of [illegible] Sects, and an Enthusiastical Conceit as if God had [illegible] more than to the [illegible] Sects.

[illegible] the Leave of the *Power of Love* which these two Remarks [illegible] Nicholas. [illegible] Sect's [illegible] Tenets [illegible] wrong. [illegible] They [illegible] Language [illegible] Warning and Exhorting, [illegible] Tenets [illegible] Mention of [illegible] Miracles, who, [illegible] Words of Scripture [illegible] unclothed, immediately give Affect to whatever is [illegible] be ever so [illegible] Mention was a pretended Humility and Self-denial, that they of themselves were *empty nothing* Creatures, but that their Sufficiency was from God, who has [illegible] the Spirit of Knowledge, made known [illegible] Visions and [illegible] Revelations, and consequently [illegible] Men, were the Favourites of Heaven. —— This is [illegible] among [illegible] People, if he is not [illegible], but of a [illegible] Spirit, may do wonders. [illegible] Man could ever achieve, or [illegible] —— [illegible] This HENRY NICHOLAS was a Member [illegible] *Dutch* Congregation [illegible] *English-Tongue* under the [illegible] and [illegible] an Opportunity [illegible] *Holland*.

[illegible] of the most dangerous [illegible] was the *Puritan* [illegible] was the Reformed [illegible] in the Reign [illegible] TUDOR, [illegible] in both [illegible] Parliaments [illegible] Sects to de[illegible] *South Minster* be [illegible] and HACKET be

[illegible]
[illegible]

be a ſtanding Monument of the reſtleſs Spirit of the other Party. Theſe pretended *Cathari*, or *Puritans*, owe their Original to ſome hot-headed Zealots, who, after the Death of bloody Queen MARY, returned from *Geneva*, where JOHN CALVIN had ſet up a new Plat-form of Church-government, which was a Model altogether unknown before his Time in any Part of the Chriſtian World ever ſince the Beginning of Chriſtianity. And the *Lutherans* to this very Day have almoſt an equal Averſion to them as to the *Papiſts*, and will ſcarce allow them the Name of *Proteſtants*, which they appropriate to themſelves, and to the Epiſcopal Church of *England*.——Yet theſe Men, who took Shelter in *Geneva* during the *Marian* Perſecution, more eſpecially the *Scotch*, grew exceedingly enamoured of that popular Government by *Lay-elders* and a *Parity* of Miniſters, as alſo of the rigid Doctrine of abſolute and unconditional Decrees of Election and Reprobation.

Their Behaviour was rude and boiſterous: For, the very next Year after the Queen's Acceſſion, KNOX, that turbulent and fiery Zealot, had the Impudence to write to Sir WILLIAM CECIL, afterwards Secretary and Treaſurer, to juſtify his treaſonable and ſeditious Pamphlet againſt the *Regimen* of *Women*. Therein he ſays, *That, if Q.* ELIZABETH *would confeſs that the extraordinary Diſpenſations of God's great Mercy did make that lawful in her which both Nature and God's Laws did deny in all Women beſides, none in* England *ſhould be more ready to maintain her lawful Authority than himſelf*. But, on the other hand, he pronounceth this Sentence on her Contumacy, *That, if ſhe built her Title upon Cuſtom, Laws and Ordinances of Men, ſuch fooliſh Preſumption would grievouſly offend God's ſupream Majeſty, and that her Ingratitude in that Kind ſhould not long want Puniſhment*. This enthuſiaſtick and daring Epiſtle bears Date, *April* 24, 1559. Much to the ſame Purpoſe, a little while after, he wrote to the Queen-herſelf.——Such was the reſtleſs Spirit and Effrontery of thoſe crack-brained Bigots!

Queen ELIZABETH was a Princeſs of incomparable Parts and Reſolution, and had wiſe and able Miniſters, ſteady to advance the Publick Good before their own Private Intereſt, unleſs perhaps one would except the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who, as Mr. CAMDEN ſays, *was a cunning Time-ſerver, and a Reſpecter of his own Advantages*.——By her own excellent Judgment, and that of her Council, ſhe defeated all the Plots of her Adverſaries, notwithſtanding the ſeveral Combinations of Princes from abroad, and the continual Attempt of fomenting Miſchief and Diviſions at home.——Neither was her Care leſs in preſerving the Unity and Peace of the Church, which, during the Remiſ-

neſs

ness of Archbishop GRINDAL, engaged her Attention more particular; but, after his Death, she reposed that most weighty Trust entirely on his most worthy and pious Successor Archbishop WHITGIFT, whose Recommendation filled all the vacant Sees and Dignities, more especially after LEICESTER's Death.

Surely Heaven favoured the *Reformation* in giving us a Princess of such consummate Wisdom, when the Reformed Church, as yet in its Infant-state, was so furiously assaulted and undermined: For, after KNOX shewed the Example, Abundance of the lesser Fry let out their envenomed Arrows to wound the new-established Episcopal Church; for, being encouraged by this bold Incendiary, the Zealots laboured hard to set up the Discipline according to the Plan and Model of *Geneva*, spirited up indeed by the kindly Assistance of *Jesuits* in *Disguise*, whose Interest it was to *broach the Unity* of the Established Church and foment Divisions, as is sufficiently proved beyond Contradiction by Sir J. WARE * in his notable Book, entitled, *Foxes and Firebrands*.

The first noted Instance of their frantick and enthusiastick Zeal, and that suffered for the Cause, is one PETER BURCHET, in the 14th Year of the Queen's Reign. "This Man persuaded himself that it was lawful to kill such as opposed the "Truth of the Gospel. So far had the Error of his Opinion "transported him, that he drew his Dagger upon HAWKINS, "that famous Sea-captain, in the open Street, and wounded "him, supposing him to be HATTON, who was then in great "Favour with the Queen, and of her Privy-Council, whom "he had heard to be an Enemy to the Innovators, or Puritans. "The Queen was so extraordinarily incensed with this Fact, "that she commanded the Man to be presently executed by "Martial or Camp Law, until she was informed by discreet "Persons that Martial Law was not to be used but in Camps "or in tumultuous Times, but that at Home and in Time of "Peace the Proceedings must be by Form of Judiciary Process. "Being therefore indicted, he affirmed that what he had done "was conformant to the Holy Scriptures, and therefore lawful. "Whereupon, being to be condemned of Heresy, he promised "to renounce his Opinions, but yet he shifted it off, and would "not. Then being thrown into the Tower of *London*, he "slew one of his keepers with a Billet which he snatched up "out of the Chimney, knocking him on the Head; for "which he was condemned of Murder, had his Right-hand "cut off and nailed to the Gallows, and then was hanged, dis-"covering a silent Resolution." This is the first Puritan Mar-

* *He is* commonly reputed to be the Author [illegible] *Life*. p. 199.

Martyr, tho' his Succeſſors in the ſame enthuſiaſtick Zeal have not regiſtered his Sufferings, as Mr. CALAMY has done, with thoſe of the ejected Miniſters.

The next Man of any Eminence, (but neither Martyr nor Confeſſor) that was an Advocate for the Cauſe, was Mr. CARTWRIGHT, a rough, blunt Man, and yet one of conſiderable Learning. The Occaſion of his firſt Diſcontent was this: At a publick Diſputation in the Univerſity before the Queen, her Majeſty exceedingly approved of Mr. PRESTON, not only for Strength of Argument, but alſo for his *graceful Delivery* and handſome Deportment and Behaviour. But CARTWRIGHT, for his Bluntneſs, rude Behaviour, and want of Elocution, was not minded; whereupon he grew very much diſſatisfied, and, being a proud, conceited Man, for not having that Reſpect paid him in the Eſtabliſhed Church which he expected, impugned it with all his Force, and reſolved to be the Champion of the *Puritan Cauſe*, where he was ſure to be *careſſed*. *

It was he that was their chief Agent in publiſhing a ſeditious Libel, entitled, *An Admonition to Parliament*, being indeed the very Summary of their Opinions concerning Church-affairs, and of their ſhameleſs Slanders againſt the Governors thereof, the Biſhops. To which Archbiſhop WHITGIFT wrote a learned and ſolid Anſwer: Therein, as Sir GEORGE PAUL words it, "he lay'd open the Weakneſs of their Cauſe, and the Strength "of their Malice †." And it is further to be obſerved, that theſe ſeditious Stirs and Hurli-burlies were at the higheſt Ferment at a very *critical Time*, when all Parties ſhould be united for the common Safety, viz. in the Year 1588, when the *Spaniſh Armada*, that was bleſſed by the *Pope*, and termed *invincible*, was hovering upon our Coaſts, and threatening to invade, and quite extirpate the *Proteſtant* Religion in *England*.

In a word, theſe *Puritans* were Men of a fierce and ungovernable Zeal, violently attached to the rigid *Geneva* Doctrine, more eſpecially to that of abſolute, unconditional, and irreſpective Predeſtination and Reprobation, whereby Man is made a mere *Machine*, only paſſive, and conſequently unaccountable for any *Action*, as not being a *Free-Agent*. They were alſo very turbulent, and would bear no Contradiction; "of the ſame "Stamp with thoſe of the *laſt Century* that had ſo great a Share "in bringing on thoſe Religious *Confuſions* which brought a "Reproach upon Chriſtianity in general, and which by De-"grees worked the Body of the People into a National Mad-"neſs and *Frenzy* in Matters of Religion."

* Life of Abp. *Whitgift*, by Sir *G. Paul*, p. 9.
† *Ibid.* p. 19, 20.

Next to the Proto-Martyr, PETER BURCHET above-mentioned, WILLIAM HACKET, with his two Prophets, COPPINGER and ARTHINGTON, appeared in the Cause of *Puritanism* in the Queen's Reign, who perhaps were Instances of the rankest enthusiastick Delusion that ever scandalised Christianity in any Century since the Apostolick Age. This HACKET has been taken Notice of by many eminent Historians. R. COSIN, L.L.D. Dean of the *Arches*, and Official Principal to Archbishop WHITGIFT, has written his Life at Large. An Abstract of it is copied by Mr. CAMDEN, in his Life of Queen ELIZABETH, as also by the learned Dr. HEYLIN in his *History of the Presbyterians*, Book ix. p. 307, *&c.* I have the Three before me at the Writing hereof. Dr. COSIN is abundantly too tedious to transcribe; and as for the other Two I shall give the Preference to Mr. CAMDEN, who, being a Layman, may on that Score be more credited by *some* of the present Age.

" HACKET was a Man of the vulgar Sort, born at *Oundle*, " in the County of *Northampton*, unlearned, insolent, cruel, " and so eager upon Revenge, that he bit off his honest School- " master's Nose as he embraced him in Token of renewing " their Love, and like a Dog (as they report) ate it down be- " fore the poor deformed Man's Face, while he intreated him " to restore it to him, that it might be sowed on again, whilst " the Hurt was yet fresh and green.

" So averse was he from all Piety, that the heavenly Doctrine " which he heard in Sermons he repeated amongst his drunken " Companions at their Cups, to be derided and abused. After- " wards, when he had riotously wasted his Estate, which he " had with his Wife, a Widow, he suddenly took upon him " the pretended Disguise of one of admirable Sanctity, spent " all his Time in hearing of Sermons, and being acquainted " with the Scriptures, and, by pretending I know not what " *Revelations* to be made him from Heaven, and an *extraordi-* " *nary Call*, he insinuated himself into certain Divines, which " with a burning Zeal laboured to bring the *Presbyterian* Dis- " cipline of the Church of *Geneva* into *England*, among whom " was one WIGGINGTON, a silly, brain-sick Minister, and a " Despiser and Enemy of Magistrates. By this WIGGINGTON's " Means he became familiarly acquainted with EDMUND COP- " PINGER, a Gentleman of a good Family, who had persua- " ded first himself, and then ARTHINGTON, a great Admirer " of that Discipline, that he was also extraordinarily called by " God for the Good of the Church, and that a Way was *re-* " *vealed* to him from Heaven to draw the Queen and the Coun- " cil to a better Mind, meaning, to admit of the Discipline of

Ge-

" *Geneva*, he himſelf having been taught, by ſome Miniſters, " that God daily raiſeth up extraordinary Labourers in his " Church. And this (triumphing as it were in Spirit) he joy- " fully imparted to HACKET, who, by his counterfeit Holi- " neſs, his inceſſant and fervent Praying *extempore*, his *Faſt-* " *ing* upon the *Lord's-Day*, his frequent Boaſting that he had " been buffeted by *Satan*, and by pretending *Revelations* and " often *Conferences* with God, which, with moſt vehement and " direful Imprecations, by the Salvation and Damnation of his " Soul, he ſware to be true and real, found both Credit with " thoſe two, that they believed and affirmed him to be the beſt " Beloved of God, and greater than MOSES and St. JOHN. " And he himſelf openly avowed that he was the Prophet of " God's *Vengeance* wherefoever *Mercy* is rejected, prophesying " that, from thenceforth, there ſhould be no more Popes, and " that *England* ſhould this Year be moſt lamentably afflicted " with Famine, Peſtilence, and War, except the *Diſcipline of* " *the Lord* (for ſo he called it) and Reformation were admitted " in the Realm.

" To bring in this, therefore, they conſpired (as was proved " by their own Letters) to accuſe the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, " and the Lord Chancellor, of Treaſon, who were Men that " oppoſed Innovations; to kill them, and ſome others, if they " ſhould give Sentence in the *Star-Chamber* againſt thoſe Mi- " niſters who were Innovators; to ſtir up the Multitude to Re- " bellion by printed Rhythmes, wherein, amongſt other Things, " they maintained, that it was lawful for a *true* Chriſtian, tho' " a Country Peaſant, to inform Kings how to ſway the Scep- " ter, and to depoſe the Queen herſelf, unleſs ſhe would ad- " vance the Reformation. That HACKET bare an impla- " cable Hatred againſt the Queen appeareth by this, that he " had often given out that ſhe had forfeited her Right to the " Crown, and had in a Rage defaced her *Arms* and Picture " drawn upon a Board, ſtriking his Dagger thro' the Breaſt of " it. And no Marvel, for he had perſuaded himſelf that he " was ordained by God to be King of all *Europe*, and could " not brook a Conſort. And he made COPPINGER and AR- " THINGTON believe that they were inſpired, not only with a " *Prophetical*, but even with an *Angelical*, Spirit; who now, " being full of the Spirit as they thought, performed all Obe- " dience to him as their King ordained by God, and endea- " voured to raiſe Sedition. To which Purpoſe, in the Month " of *July*, they came to a Nobleman, offered him the higheſt " Command under the Queen, and preſented him with a De- " ſcription of HACKET's Life, together with ARTHINGTON's

" Por-

" Prophecy: But he, being busy about something else, re-
" jected the Men.

" Not long after, they told WIGGINGTON that CHRIST
" had appeared to them the Night before, not in that Body
" wherewith he dwelleth in the Heavens, but with that princi-
" pal Spirit wherewith he inhabiteth in HACKET more fully
" than in any other; and that HACKET was that very Angel
" which was to come before the Last Day with his Fan and
" Sheep-Hook, to separate the Goats from the Sheep; and
" that he should tread down *Satan* under his Feet, and totally
" subvert the Kingdom of *Antichrist*. From WIGGINGTON
" they betook themselves to HACKET, near to whom, as he
" lay in Bed, they cast themselves prostrate upon the Ground,
" and poured forth most fervent Prayers. HACKET arising
" joined with them, praying earnestly with many Words, that
" the Spirit would direct them to God's Glory, and then went
" to Bed again.

" ARTHINGTON presently advised COPPINGER to anoint
" the King with the Holy Ghost in the Name of the Lord JE-
" SUS CHRIST. COPPINGER, with all Lowliness kissing the
" Floor thrice, and bending the Knee with all Reverence,
" came to HACKET, who put him back, saying, You need
" not anoint me, for the Holy Ghost hath anointed me already.
" Do ye my Commandments. Go and tell through the City
" that JESUS CHRIST is come with his Fan in his Hand to
" judge the World. If any ask where he is, shew him this
" Place; and, if they will not believe, let them come and kill
" me if they can. As it is most certain that God is in Heaven,
" so it is no less true that CHRIST is now come to Judg-
" ment.

" Scarce had he spoken the Word, but presently they rushed
" forth, crying thro' the Streets that CHRIST was come, and
" what other Things he had commanded them, often redoubling
" with a loud Voice, *Repent! Repent!* until they were come to
" the principal Street of the City, *Cheapside*, where, by reason
" of the Throng of People, they climbed up into a Cart, and,
" partly by Help of their Memories, partly out of a written
" Paper, proclaimed aloud, *That* HACKET, *in a glorified Bo-
" dy, participated with* CHRIST *by his principal Spirit, and was
" now come with his Fan to propagate the Gospel throughout* Eu-
" rope, *and to establish a* Discipline and Commonwealth in
" England; *(and withal they shewed the Place* where he lodged)
" *that they were Two Prophets, the one of Mercy, the other of
" Judgment, given to him as Co-adjutors and Assistants in so great
" a Work. And these Things they affirmed upon the Salvation of*

" *their*

" *their Souls to be certainly true.* They added further, *That* " HACKET *was the highest and supream Monarch, and that all* " *the Kings of* Europe *did hold their Kingdoms of him as his* " *Vassals; that he alone therefore was to be obeyed, and the Queen* " *to be deposed.* Lastly they cursed the Archbishop (WHITGIFT) " and the Chancellor (HATTON) to the Pit of Hell, as Op- " posers of the sincere Religion. When they could not, for " the great Throng of People, proceed forward to the other " Parts of the City, to proclaim these Things, and were ad- " vised by their Friends to withdraw themselves, they returned " to HACKET's Lodging.

" Shortly after being apprehended, they behaved themselves " so contemptuously and insolently towards the Queen's Coun- " cil and the Magistrates, that they would not uncover their " Heads to them, and answered saucily and peremptorily that " they were above all Magistrates. HACKET, being afterward " indicted of Treason, confessed himself guilty, and by his " blasphemous Answers struck the Auditors into Horror and As- " tonishment; which, perhaps, was done craftily, to make the " Judges of Opinion that he was mad; whereas, notwith- " standing, by his other Gestures and a Kind of composed " Gravity, he shewed no Sign of a Mad-man. Being con- " demned, he was laid upon a Hurdle, and drawn to the chief " Place of the City, (on the 28th of July, Anno 1591) in- " cessantly roaring out with a dreadful Noise, *Jehova Messias!* " *Jehova Messias! Behold the Heavens open! Behold the Son of* " *the Most High descending to deliver me!*

" At the Gallows, being admonished to acknowledge his Sin " against God and the Queen, the execrable Wretch, inveigh- " ing most bitterly and contumeliously against the Queen, " cried out, with a STENTOR's Voice, *O heavenly God, Al-* " *mighty Jehova, Alpha and Omega, Lord of Lords, King of* " *Kings, God everlasting! thou knowest that I am the true Je-* " *hova whom thou hast sent: Shew some Miracle out of the Clouds,* " *to convert these Infidels, and rescue me from mine Enemies. But,* " *if not,* (I tremble to repeat it) *I will set the Heavens on Fire,* " *and with these Hands pluck thee from thy Throne.* And other " Speeches he used, more horrible than these *. Turning to " the Hangman, as he was putting the Rope about his Neck, " *Thou Bastard,* (said he) *wilt thou hang* HACKET, *thy King?* " Having the Rope about his Neck, he lift up his Eyes to Hea- " ven,

* Dr. *Cosin*, who lived in that Time, gives the same Account, but makes no particular Mention of the other more execrable Blasphemies; only says they are not to be rehearsed.

" ven, and, grinning, said, *Dost thou repay me this instead of* " *a Kingdom? I come to revenge it.*

" These Things as he was belching forth with a blasphemous " Mouth, he was throttled with the Halter, the Multitude cry- " ing out to have the impious Villain presently cut down; " which, according to the Sentence passed upon him, was done, " his Bowels taken out, and his Body quartered. *Thus doth the* " *Enemy of Mankind bewitch those whom he findeth to pretend* " *Sanctity, and refuse to be wise to Sobriety.* COPPINGER shortly " after starved himself in Prison by voluntary Fasting. AR- " THINGTON, being reserved to Repentance, repented seri- " ously, and set forth a Book thereof."——Thus far Mr. CAMDEN.

Dr. HEYLIN is a little more particular as to the Prelude that ushered in this Tragedy. He tells us, that the Brethren, at different Times and Places, appointed many solemn Days set apart for Prayer and Fasting, that God would prosper the Cause they were engaged in: And we know that their Successors in Principle and Practice did the same by enquiring of the Lord before the fatal Stroke was given to the *Royal Martyr*.

COPPINGER fancied, that he was admitted to a familiar Conference with God, and had particular Directions how to proceed. In a Letter of his to one T. LANCASTER, a Schoolmaster, he thus begins——*If this Letter be not indited by the Holy Ghost, the Lord confound us two* (viz. *himself and* ARTHINGTON) *with Vengeance from Heaven and carry us with all Violence into the bottomless Pit.* Then adds, *We command in the Name of the Lord all Creatures upon the Earth, and they must obey*; and concludes in calling himself

The Messenger of Mercy to the whole World, if they accept me,

EDM. COPPINGER.

ARTHINGTON, writing to the same Person, says, *I avouch whatsoever my Brother hath written to be most true, or else the Lord confound me,* * and subscribes himself,

The Prophet of God's Judgment to the whole World, where Mercy is rejected.

HEN. ARTHINGTON.

I might exceedingly enlarge upon this Subject of their Visions and enthusiastick Rants, but shall forbear, and have this only to add, as Dr. COSIN observes, that HACKET was esteemed by the Brethren a Man of singular Spirit to pray *extempore*, and that they admired his Prayers, as being full of Zeal and Warmth of Devotion, as *divine, sweet*, and *heavenly*. And in this Confidence

* Conspiracy for pretended Reform. p. 73, 74.

dence, being full of the Gift of Prayer and strong Faith withal, he boasted, *That, if all the* Divines of England *should pray for Rain, if he said the Word, yet it should not rain.* *

There are Two virulent Pamplets more especially that made a great Noise, wrote by the *Puritans* of that Age, *An Admonition to Parliament*, and *Martin-Mar-Prelate*. The first was a bitter Libel, or Invective, not so much against State-Affairs, as against the *Liturgy* and Government of the Church by *Bishops*. It tells the Parliament, "That it shall be easier for *Sodom* and *Gomorra* in the Day of Judgment than for them; "and that there is no other Thing to be expected than some "speedy Vengeance upon the whole Land, unless the *Geneva* "Doctrine and Discipline was brought in." To this, as I mentioned before, the good Archbishop, as became one of his Sacred Function and excellent Parts, wrote a grave and solid Answer. But nothing will satisfy Men that are violently bent on Innovation and Mischief.

The other, *Martin-Mar-Prelate*, is the most ill-natured, abusive, and cursed Libel that ever was penned by Malice itself, or ever exercised the Patience of a Christian State. The Archbishop is there called the *Beelzebub of Canterbury*, a *monstrous Antichristian Pope*, a *most bloody Opposer of God's Saints*, a *most vile and cursed Tyrant*; altho' he, good Man, by the Interest he had at Court, did often stop the Prosecutions against them for disturbing the State, and, by his constant Intercession, brought upon him the Displeasure of the Lord Chancellor HATTON, his particular Friend. The rest of the Bishops are called *Incarnate Devils*, *Bishops of the Devil*, *Enemies of God*; and that the worst *Puritan* in *England* is an honester Man than the best *Lord Bishop* in Christendom. And as to the inferior Clergy, they are termed *Popish Priests*, *Hogs*, *Wolves*, *greedy Dogs to fill their Paunches*, *a cursed, murthering Generation.*——Lo, here is a Specimen of *Puritan Candour*.

But the *Papists* made their Advantage of this to increase their Party; for, from such Authority, they reported these Calumnies and Slanders for undoubted Truth, and argued, that it was downright Damnation to join Communion with such an Heretical Church that was the *Synagogue of Satan*, and a *Den of Devils*. And *Martin-Mar-Prelate* is affirmed by Sir EDWINE SANDYS to pass in those Times for unquestionable Credit in the Court of *Rome*. †

And as they were thus liberal to bestow such odious Names and Appellations on the Clergy of the Established Church, so

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* Conspiracy for pretended Reform. p. 39.
† *Heyl.* Hist. Presbyt. L. viii. p. 286.

were they no less whimsical and fantastick in giving Names to their Children at the Font, which many of them, when they came to Age, were ashamed to own, such as, *Accepted*, *Ashes*, *Consolation*, *Dust*, *Deliverance*, *Discipline*, *Earth*, *Free-gift*, *Fight the good Fight of Faith*, *From above*, *Joy again*, *Kill-Sin*, *More Fruit*, *More Trial*, *Praise God*, *Reformation*, *Tribunal*, *The Lord is near*, *Thankful*; with many others of like Nature, whereby they made themselves ridiculous.

CHAP III.

Of the Two Famous National Leagues, the French *Holy League, as 'tis called, and the* Scotch *Solemn League and Covenant.*

THE dire and calamitous Effects of these two *National Leagues*, as being acted by a fiery and ungovernable Zeal for peculiar Tenets of Religion, each Party contending for equal Infallibility, may well challenge a Place under the Category of Religious *Enthusiasm*. The one was devised to secure the *Popish Religion*, and to extirpate Heresy as they called the Protestant Religion: The other to settle *Presbytery*, and not only not to tolerate, but to excommunicate, all that would not conform to their Doctrine and Discipline.

The Holy League in *France* began on this Occasion about the Year 1589. When the Duke of *Anjou*, King HENRY III. of *France* his Brother, was dead without Children, and the King also had no Issue, nor any Likelihood of having any, so that the Kingdom did of Right descend to the King of *Navarre*, and after him to the Prince of *Conde*, both of them Professors of the Reformed Religion; Matters being thus circumstanced, the *Grandees* of *France* (the Bishop of *Rome* and the Court of *Spain* being privy to it) confederated together, which they called the *Holy Union and League*, not only to hinder the King of *Navarre* to succeed to the Crown of *France*, but to root up and quite to extirpate the Reformed Religion, which, in their Enthusiastick Zeal, they thought to be a Service done unto God.

The Massacre of *Paris* was, indeed, before this, *viz.* in the Year 1572, where so many Thousands of *Protestants* were butchered in cold Blood with unheard-of Cruelties by the most execrable Rage of the *Papists*, the King himself, CHARLES the Ninth, confessing himself the Author of this bloody Massacre at the Instigation of the *Jesuits*, who in a short Time, after that he

he had endured horrible and most exquisite Pains, dy'd of excessive Bleeding. * —— A just Judgment for shedding so much innocent Blood!

Good God! That Men, that call themselves the only orthodox Christians, the Holy Catholick Church, should so far divest themselves of Humanity, and, in a frantick Zeal, judge Cruelty, and the Execution of sanguinary Laws and Edicts, made in their Rage and Fury, to be advancing the Cause of Christianity, and doing a Work acceptable to God.

Yet this is the direct Consequence and Tendency of that ridiculous Doctrine, that the *Pope* of *Rome* is infallible, and universal Head of the Church, out of whose Pale there is no Salvation. In the *Seminary* of *Rheims* (which was erected by the Duke of *Guise*, Uncle to MARY, Queen of *Scots*, the Mother of King JAMES the First of *England)* were several Students, Natives of *England*; and, indeed, it was intended for them as well as for the *Scots*; and amongst others at that Time were GILBERT GIFFARD, JOHN BALLARD, and —— HODGESON, Priests. These, with a certain Astonishment, admiring and reverencing the *Omnipotency* of the Bishop of *Rome* †, did believe that the Bull of PIUS QUINTUS against Queen ELIZABETH was dictated by the Holy Ghost.——Strange Enthusiasm!——Being of this Belief, they, with their Accomplices, did enter into a Conspiracy to assassinate the Queen, thinking it to be a meritorious Act to kill such Princes as are excommunicated by the Pope; yea, that they are Martyrs who lose their Lives in engaging in such a Cause. Having tampered with a great many Gentlemen, (and some of eminent Note) and perverted their Judgment, not only with the *Lawfulness*, but even the *Merit* of murdering the Queen, in order to establish the Catholick Religion, as they were ready to execute their cursed Plot, they were happily discovered, and suffered as Traitors in the 29th Year of that Queen's Reign.

As to the other famous *League* and *Covenant*, I take the Original to be in the Year 1592, which was then chiefly against the Superstition and Growth of *Popery*. For, when the *Jesuits* tampered every where with the Noblemen and others for the Advancement of the Popish Religion, the *Scotch* Ministers, to oppose their Design, preferred a Bill in Parliament, "That "whosoever would not profess the Religion established in *Scot-* "*land (i. e.* rigid Presbytery, and all the Calvinistical Doc- "trine) should forthwith be excommunicate: And, if they "would not then profess it within a Year, all their Lands and

* *Camd.* Life of Q. *Eliz.* p. 190.
† This is Mr. *Camden*'s own Expression.

"Goods ſhould be confiſcate during their Lives." And, amongſt others, one GEORGE KERR, a Doctor of the Law, was excommunicated; who, to avoid the ſevere Penalty, thought proper to abſcond and remove beyond Sea, yet was he ſo narrowly watched by the Miniſters, that they apprehended him, and brought him to Juſtice, as they called it; and, it ſeems, he was the firſt that felt the Laſh of *Scottiſh* Perſecution.*

But this *Covenant* was much enlarged in the Year 1638, a little before the breaking out of the *Grand Rebellion*. To the clearing of this Matter, we are to underſtand that, in the Year 1618, an Aſſembly of the *Scottiſh* Divines met at *Perth*, where they had paſſed the following Five Articles, 1. For introducing Private Baptiſm. 2. Communicating of the Sick. 3. Kneeling at the Communion. 4. Receiving Epiſcopal Confirmation. 5. The obſerving Antient Feſtivals.

Theſe are commonly called the *Five* Articles of *Perth*, which tho' at this Time admitted and approved of, yet, when theſe very Articles were incorporated into the *Common-Prayer-Book*, ſet forth by lawful Authority, and intended for their Uſe, they were beheld as *Innovations* in the Worſhip of God, and therefore not to be admitted in ſo pure and reformed a Church as that of *Scotland*. And, in conſequence hereof, when the *Covenant* was impoſed upon the Nation in the Year 1638, the Government of the Church by *Biſhops*, the *Five* Articles of *Perth*, the *Liturgy*, and the Book of *Canons*, were abjured and rejected.

In the Year 1643, when the Rebellion grew ſtrong and prevailed, this *Covenant of Iniquity* was brought into *England*; firſt taken and ſubſcribed by the *Scots*, then by moſt of the *Engliſh* Members and Lords, as alſo by all the principal *Officers* of the Rebel Army, all the *Divines* of the *Aſſembly* then ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, and, to be brief, by all the Subjects which were within their Power, or were made ſubject to it by Force.——Now, by virtue of this Covenant, the Party was to bind himſelf, 1ſt, "That he would endeavour in his Place and Calling to bring the "Churches of God in all the *Three Kingdoms* to the neareſt Con-"junction and Uniformity in Religion, Confeſſion of Faith, "and Form of Church-Government, as the *Directory* preſcribes "for Worſhip and Catechiſing. 2dly, That he would endeavour, without reſpect of Perſons, to extirpate Popery "and Prelacy, that is to ſay, Church-Government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, &c. And 3dly, That he would endeavour "the Diſcovery of ſuch as have been, or ſhall be, Malignants "and evil Inſtruments," that is to ſay, all ſuch as were loyal to the King, or orthodox in Religion.

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* *Camd.* Life of Q. *Eliz.* p. 461.

I ſhall here ſubjoin the Sentiments of good King CHARLES concerning this Covenant, as publiſhed by his Majeſty's *Proclamation*, bearing Date on October the 9th, 1643. *Whereas* (ſaith he) *there is a printed Paper, entitled*, A ſolemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the King, the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms, *pretended to be ordered by the Commons in Parliament on the* 21ſt *of* September *laſt*; *which Covenant, tho' it ſeems to make ſome ſpecious Expreſſions of Piety and Religion, is in Truth nothing elſe but a traiterous and ſeditious Combination againſt us, and againſt the eſtabliſhed Religion and Laws of the Kingdom*: ---*We do therefore ſtrictly charge and command all our loving Subjects, of what Degree and Quality ſoever, upon their Allegiance, that they preſume not to take the ſaid ſeditious and traiterous Covenant.*

The barbarous Treatment, that the loyal Party ſuffered thro' all the Parts of the Kingdom after the taking of this *impious Covenant*, cannot be parallelled but by that *other of France*. But more eſpecially the *Clergy* ſuffered the utmoſt Rage of Fanatick Zeal and Cruelty. They were plundered, ſequeſtered, impriſoned, by Miſery and Hardſhip brought to an untimely Death, or ejected out of their Benefices thro' all Parts of the Realm, a Detail of which would fill a Volume, as may be ſeen at Large in Dr. WALKER's Account of the Sufferings of the Clergy.--*Lond.* 1714.

The Rabble Multitude, inſtigated by their *enthuſiaſtick Teachers*, committed all Manner of Rapine, and Sacrilege, and Prophanation; yea, which is horrid to utter, they *defiled* the very *Churches* with their Excrements, and gloried in their beaſtly Naſtineſs. They tear the *Common-prayer-book* to Pieces, ſtrewing the Pavement with the Leaves, and ſometimes uſing them to viler Purpoſes. And, at a Time in the Cathedral of *Chicheſter*, when they met with the Portraiture or Picture of that bleſſed King, our firſt Reformer, King Edward VI. they picked out his Eyes, ſaying in Scorn, *That all this Miſchief came from him in eſtabliſhing the Book of Common-prayer*. They ſeize on the conſecrate Plate and Veſtments, and break into Shivers the Communion-table; and, once when they were deſired to leave a *Chalice* for the Uſe of the Sacrament, a prophane *Scot* made Anſwer, *They might ſerve their Turn with a Wooden Diſh.*

In the Cathedral of *Canterbury* they exerciſed their Madneſs on the *Arras-hangings*, which adorned the *Quire*, repreſenting the whole Hiſtory of our *Saviour*; and, meeting with ſome of *his Portraitures* among the reſt, ſome of them ſwore they would *ſtab* him, and others, they would *rip* up his Bowels, which they did accordingly, ſo far forth at the leaſt as theſe *Figures* in the

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Arras-hangings could be capable of: And finding a Statue of CHRIST placed in the Frontispiece of the South-gate, they discharged 40 Muskets at it, exceedingly triumphing when they hit it on the Head and Face. *

At *Yaxley*, in *Huntingdonshire*, some of Captain BEAUMONT's Soldiers coming thither, they break open the Church-Doors, *piss* in the Font, and then baptise an Horse or Mare, using the solemn Words of Baptism, and signing with the Sign of the Cross. And at *Litchfield* they demolished all the Monuments, pulling down the curious Carved-work, battering in Pieces the costly Windows, and destroying the Evidences and Records belonging to that Church; which being done, they stabled their Horses in the Body of it, kept Courts of Guard in the Cross-isles, broke up the Pavement, polluted the Quire with their Excrements, every Day hunted a Cat with Hounds throughout the Church, and, to add to their Wickedness, brought a Calf into it wrapped in Linen, carried it to the Font, sprinkled it with Water, and gave it a Name, in Scorn and Derision of that Holy *Sacrament* of *Baptism*.——*D.* WALKER's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Part I. p. 26. Lond. 1714.

It were endless to particularise the Madness, the *Enthusiasm*, and the *frantick Zeal*, of those distracted and licentious Times. And, lest it should be objected that those and such like Fanatick Proceedings were only the Actions of the lawless Soldiers and their imperious Commanders, heated by their Success in Rebellion, the Reply in short is, That it was the direct Tendency and moral Result of that impious *League*, and had the joint Suffrage of their seditious and *enthusiastick* Teachers; for, when CHARLES II. after the Murder of his Father, was invited from beyond Sea by the *Scots* to accept of that Crown, their Ministers were very assiduous to instruct him in the *Presbyterian Religion*, and they scrupled not to brand the *Hierarchy* and *Worship* of the Church of *England* with the Name of *Doctrine of Devils*, as says RAPIN DE THOYRAS himself, without the least Remark or Censure, either by him or his Interpreter, on such a horrid Expression. †

Their Religion (such as it was) consisted in extatick *Fits* and *Extasies*, or what they call supernatural *Raptures*, and long *extempore* Prayers, which they pretended to be inspired, and an immediate Gift of the Holy Spirit. And yet it was a common Remark, and a very true one, "That it was as fatal to meet "a *Bear* robbed of her Whelps as a *Colonel* upon his *Knees* and "his *praying* Legions about him." And, among other gifted Men

* Dr. *Heyl.* Hist. of the Presb. B. xiii. p. 443.
† *Rap.* Vol. II. p. 581.

Men that Way, "Major JOHN WAYER, a *Scotchman*, one of "the greatest Monsters of Men that ever lived, and actually in "League with the *Devil*, was yet, by the Confession of all "that heard him, the most excellent at this *extempore Way* of "*praying by the Spirit* of any Man in his Time; none was able "to come near him, or to compare with him. But surely he, "who shall venture to ascribe the Prayers of such a Wretch, "made up of Adulteries, Incest, Witchcraft, and other Vil-"lainies not to be named, to the Spirit of God, may as well "strike in with the *Pharisees*, and ascribe the Miracles of "CHRIST to the DEVIL." *

Another distinguishing Characteristick of the Religion that was fashionable in those Days of Confusion was a *singular Affectation* in Behaviour. To be *starch* and *formal*, morose and sullen, and to look askew with an Eye of Contempt and Scorn on all others of a *different Notion*, was then a Symptom of *Saintship*, tho' such a sour and self-conceited Frame of Mind is certainly the Reverse of Christianity. They also placed great Merit in hunting after *long-winded Sermons* of two or three Hours' Length, which they judged more *Soul-refreshing* still (to use their own Cant-word) if the Holder-forth did vociferate stoutly. "'Tis "not always Reason that strikes upon gross Apprehensions and "stirs them up to Action, but the Warmth and Passion of the "Speaker: It is the *Voice* and outward Force that often make "the *Impression*. Nor do the Things spoken operate so strongly "as the *Manner* of speaking them, because *this* is more obvious "to the Senses than the Things themselves. And hence People "very often judge of a Man's Arguments by the *Tone* of his "Voice." There were no less than *Six* such Sermons preached before King CHARLES II. upon a *Fast-day* in *Scotland* without any Intermission, which sufficiently exercised his Patience. †

We readily grant that the Emissaries of *Rome* had a mighty Hand to carry on the Transactions of those distracted Times: And, indeed, they made a Handle of those tumultuary Proceedings to further on their accursed End, *viz.* to propagate new *enthusiastick* Sects and blasphemous Notions, unheard-of in the Christian World before, in order to under-mine and ruin the *Episcopal* Reformed Church of *England*, the *Pillar* and Support of the *Reformation*. And this at last they brought to pass by their Artifice of *disguising* and *assuming* the *Shape* of the several *Sectarists*, by wrigling into their secret Councils, and taking Advantage of the *National Phrensy*, to make the Rebels an Instrument in their Hand to abolish *Episcopacy* and the *Liturgy*,

* Dr. *South*'s Sermons, Vol. II. p. 130. *Ed. Lond.* 1697.
† *Burnet*, Tom. I. p. 53.

turgy, to murther the good and pious Archbishop, and, to compleat their Villainy, at last to imbrue their Sacrilegious Hands in the Blood of the *Lord's Anointed*.——" The *Romish Priest* " and Confessor is known, says Dr. DU MOULIN, who (when " he saw the fatal Stroke given to our Holy King and Martyr) " flourished with his Sword, and said, *Now the greatest Enemy* " *that we have in the World is gone off*." *

And Mr. HENRY FOWLES, an Author of unquestionable Veracity, has the following Relation to confirm this. When the late King was murthered, Mr. HENRY SPOTSWOOD, riding casually that Way just as his Head was cut off, espied the *Queen's Confessor* there on Horse-back in the Habit of a Trooper, drawing forth his Sword, and flourishing it over his Head in Triumph, as others did. At which Mr. SPOTSWOOD being much amazed, and being familiarly acquainted with the Confessor, rode up to him, and said, *O Father! I little thought to have found you here, or any of your Profession, at such a sad Spectacle*. To which he answered, that there were at least *forty*, or more, *Priests* and *Jesuits* there present on Horseback.——The famous Mr. PRYNNE vouches the Truth of this Story. †

This is indisputable Matter of *Fact*, which the *Sects* of all Denominations ought seriously to reflect upon, how they were made *Tools* in the Hands of *Romish Priests*, to carry on their Interest, that they are all the *Spawn* of the *Jesuits*, however diversified in Tenets and Principles.

The King's Murder, and the Overthrow of the Church, was a Work of Darkness long-concerted, and several *Cabals* were held about it in the Conclave at *Rome*, tho' not kept so secret but some Hints of it did perspire, and Intelligence thereof was sent to *England*, and yet to no Purpose:——For, in the Year 1640, " Sir WILLIAM BOSWELL, being then *Agent* for his " Majesty at the *Hague*, having Intelligence of a Plot then ad- " vising by the *Jesuits* of the Church of *Rome* to take off his " Majesty, in case he would not tolerate their Religion, wrote " this Discovery unto WILLIAM LAUD, then Archbishop of " *Canterbury*, who immediately shewed the same to his Ma- " jesty. The *Papists*, upon this account, and also remembering " the Overthrow he gave to LUTHER, the *Jesuits*, thought they " could not accomplish their evil Design, unless they took a- " way this *Prelate* of the *Church* also; and then, under a *dis-* " *sembling Disguise*, they cast Aspersions on this Holy Prelate, " knowing nothing could make him more odious to the Com- " monalty than to say he was a *Papist*, or endeavoured to bring in

* [illegible]

† [illegible]

"in *Popery*, thus continuing in the Gall of Bitterness 'till he "was cut off." This very remarkable Account I have transcribed from ROBERT WARE, Esq; in that curious Collection of his added to that of his Father *, and is an evident Demonstration that the *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, &c. were (as I mentioned before) the *Tools* of the *Papists* to murder the *King* and *Archbishop*: And therefore I cannot but admire at the consummate Impudence and Effrontery of Mr. CALAMY, who Twice in One Page of his Venom terms the Episcopal Church of *England* the *Laudensian Faction*. †

We are now come within Sight of the Days of OLIVER, who was such an hardened Reprobate as first to *kill*, and then to take *Possession*. Besides what we have in the *printed Books* of the Tribe, I very well remember to have heard some of our present Sectarists, with a petulant Assurance, maintain, "that "the Power of Religion was never so conspicuous in *England* "as in the Days of OLIVER." But it is more reasonable to suppose that it was of a Piece with his own, a Mixture of Hypocrisy, Cant, and Enthusiasm; and as he lived an Enthusiast, so he dy'd such: And his Chaplain, GOODWIN, who, but a few Minutes before his Death, had assured the People that he had prevailed in Prayer to have his Life prolonged, and had an immediate Revelation to confirm it, had now the Impudence to say to God, *Thou hast deceived us, and we are deceived.* ——Bishop BURNET writes of him, "That the Enthusiast and Dis-"sembler mixed so equally in a great Part of his Deportment, "that it was not easy to tell which was the prevailing Charac-"ter. One standing Principle he had, (says the Bishop) *viz.* "that Moral Laws were only binding on ordinary Occasions, "but that upon extraordinary ones they might be superseded; "so that, when his own Designs did not lead him out of the "Way, he was a great Lover of Justice and Virtue, but, upon "the Interposition of any Thing of this Nature, he fell into "all the Practices of the vilest Falshood and Cruelty."---And Mr. EDWARDS, a rigid Presbyterian Minister, who lived in those Times of Anarchy, does very much lament the Decay of Religion. He tells us, that the Nation was over-run with Errors, Heresies, and Immoralities, far more monstrous than in the Days of Prelacy. And how could it be otherwise? For he tells us that the Articles of Faith then broached were, ‖ "That "Believers have nothing to do to take care or to look to them-"selves to keep from Sin; God must look to them if he

E "will;

* Foxes and Fir. p. 83. See this Letter at Large in Archbishop *Usher*'s Life towards the latter End, by Dr. *Parr*.

† Life of Mr. *Baxter*, p. 318.

‖ Catalogue of the *many* Errors of the Sectaries, p. 26.

" will:——That God loves his Children as well Sinning as " Praying; he accounts never the better for their good Works, " nor ever the worse for their ill Works:——That God's Chil- " dren are not at all to be humbled or grieved for Sin after " *Conversion*; and what PETER did in this kind after his foul " Fact of denying his Master issued from the *Weakness* of his " Faith:——That God's Children are not to ask Pardon and " Forgiveness of their Sins; they need not, they ought not; " and 'tis no less than Blasphemy for a Child of God to ask " Pardon of Sins; 'tis Infidelity to ask Pardon of Sins, and " DAVID's asking Forgiveness of Sin was his Weakness."

Lo! this was the *favourite Doctrine* of that Age, which has a natural Tendency to a general Corruption of Manners, and is, indeed, but the Result of that Maxim which then almost every where prevailed among the Dissenters, *That God sees no Sin in his elect covenanted People.*

Mr. EDWARDS gives us such a tragical Account of Vice and Immorality, of such monstrous Opinions and Blasphemies, the Ridicule of all that was sacred, more especially the Mysteries of Religion, and the Holy ever-blessed Trinity, as is shocking to a Christian Ear. He represents the Enormity of those Days to be such as if the *Gates* of Hell flew *open*, and *Satan*, with all his infernal Crew, had broke loose; yea, the said Writer does aver, *Certainly*, (says he) *if* MAHOMET *were now alive among us, he would be a gallant Fellow in these Times, and be in great Request for his Revelations and New-light. Yea, we are fallen to that Madness and Folly, that I am persuaded, if the Devil came visibly among many, and should preach ever such false Doctrines, as that there were no Devils, no Hell, no Sin at all, but these were only Men's Imaginations, he would be cried up, followed, admired.* * By this Account we may judge, that the Power of Religion (to borrow a Metaphor from the *Chymists*) was a *Caput mortuum*; but that *Enthusiasm* rode triumphant.

I shall here subjoin what Mr. BAXTER mentions occasionally upon this Subject. " The Army, says he, (*i. e.* the Rebel Ar- " my) fell into a disputing Vein, and made *too much of their* " *Religion* to talk of this or that Opinion. Sometimes they " would vehemently contend for *State-Democracy*, and at other " Times for *Church-Democracy*; sometimes, against Forms of " Prayer; sometimes, against Infant-Baptism; sometimes, a- " gainst Set-times of Prayer, and against the tying ourselves to " any Duty before the *Spirit* moves us; and, sometimes, about " Free-Grace and Free-Will, and all the Points of *Antinomia-* " *nism* and *Arminianism*." † " And

* *Catalogue of the many Errors of the Sectaries*, p. 145, 146.
† *Calamy's Life of Baxter*, p. 90.

And now, since I mentioned this morose and voluminous Author, R. BAXTER, I cannot omit a pert Observation of his, and is as followeth. He tells us, that, when *Satan* at any Time did more than ordinarily shake his Belief of the Scripture and the Life to come, his Zeal in every Religious Duty abated with it, and he grew more indifferent in Religion than before. Then, during this Satanick Temptation, *he was more inclined to Conformity in these Points which he thought to be sinful, and was ready to think, Why should he be singular, and offend the Bishops, and make himself contemptible in the World?* But, when Faith revived, he got the Mastery of those Diabolical Illusions. *

I shall conclude this Chapter with a Remark on Mr. CALAMY's specious Account of the ejected Ministers after the Commencement of the Act of Uniformity at the Restoration. Mr. ANTHONY A WOOD, who wrote the *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, he treats in a scurrilous and virulent Manner, and says in one Place, *That his Reflections are as black as the Vapours of the infernal Cell where they were forged.* But, as to the *Ejected*, of what Denominations soever, or Qualifications either, he liberally every where bestows upon each of them the Character of a *pious*, *learned*, and *painful* Servant of CHRIST, one of fervent Zeal for the promoting of Religion, one of eminent Piety, of an healing Spirit, an able Preacher, one of an exemplary Conversation, *&c.* And then, after a fulsome Character to each, much to the same Purpose, he makes a terrible Outcry that such a worthy, pains-taking Minister should be ejected, and sometimes denounces a Judgment.——But he does not take the least Notice that most of his *Worthies* were *Intruders* into Benefices at the same Time when the *lawful Incumbents* were deprived, plundered, imprisoned, and starving for want of Necessaries.——But, in those Days, *to rebel was to help the Lord against the Mighty*, and *to plunder was to do the Work of the Lord faithfully.* They had just the same Right to the Churches which they usurped, as OLIVER had to the Supream Government of the Three Kingdoms. And surely there is no Man, that has a Right and Property, but will endeavour to recover *his own*, and dislodge a Thief and a House-breaker, notwithstanding his wrong Possession for some Time by the Hands of Violence.

And there is this vast Difference betwixt the *Intruders* that were obliged to quit their unjust and iniquitous Hold at the *Restoration* and the Legal Incumbents that were violently thrust out of their Free-hold by the Parliamentary Forces and the *Tryers* who acted in Subordination to them: The *Intruders* (very often ignorant Mechanicks, and *Enthusiasts*) were obliged *only*

* *Calamy's* Life of *Baxter*, Ch. xvi. p. 693.

to cede and give Place to the true and rightful P
they were not obliged to *refund* so much as a *Gre*
standing their usurping another Man's Benefice for 1
or 18 Years, more or less, whilst the true Incum
perpetually harrassed and persecuted with more th
Cruelty, imprisoned in loathsome Dungeons, and th
mouldy Bread and Water, as was the Case in fac
many of the Episcopal Divines, for no other Crime
towards God, and Loyalty to the King, his Vicegere

PHILIP NYE and HUGH PETERS were as
Metropolitans, or rather the *Father Inquisitors*, of t
Times, who governed without Controul the Committee
They had no Statute-law, no Canons, but their own
Pleasure: They had an arbitrary Power, rejected wh
pleased, without giving themselves the Trouble, or th
Party the Satisfaction, of the least Reason for what
and there was no Relief, no *Quare Impedit*, against
spotick Governors; and their Proceedings were so
that this Committee of *Tryers* were very justly r
English Inquisition. Vid. *A Vindication of the Primi*
against Mr. R. BAXTER, p. 412.

N. B. Instances of this Kind are so very numero
should even tire the Reader, and myself too, in t
them. He that is so disposed may see enough, and
enough, in Dr. WALKER's *Sufferings of the Cle*
particularly *Part* 1. p. 170, &c.

CH

CHAP. IV.

A more particular Account of the Enthusiasm that prevailed in the Time of the Great Rebellion. More authentick Testimonies that the Fanaticks of that Age were underhand assisted by Papists *in Disguise. An Abstract of some Passages in the Publick Sermons of* HUGH PETERS *and other Incendiaries, exciting to Rebellion, and to murder the King. The Consequences of these Harangues. Several Instances of the highest Strain of Enthusiastick Delusions in the Behaviour and Dying Speeches of the Regicides. Of the Martyrdom of K.* CHARLES *the First. The Form of the Warrant for his Execution. A Sketch of his Character. The Confusion in Church and State that succeeded his Murder. Several of the then most celebrated Teachers encourage the prevailing Powers to put him to Death, and afterwards justify the Fact. A more particular Account of Mr.* BAXTER, *and Mr.* CALAMY *that wrote his Life. Of Archbishop* LAUD *and Archbishop* WILLIAMS, *with a Sketch of the Character of both. Of* BURTON, PRYN, *and* BASTWICK, *with their Characters. More Particulars of the Solemn League and Covenant. The severe Cruelties inflicted on the loyal Episcopal Clergy compared with the Popish* Inquisition. *The present State and Usage of the Reformed Churches abroad,* Lutherans *and* Calvinists, *as to a Publick Liturgy and Church-musick. Of Sacrilege committed in* OLIVER's *Usurpation, and the dire Consequences that attend it to this very Day.*

THE close Connexion between our present high Pretences to Religion (although the Ferment begins now considerably to subside) and the Canting Phrases and Enthusiastick Ravings that brought such a general Scandal upon the whole Kingdom a Century ago,---this close Connexion and Analogy, I say, has induced me to dwell more particular on the Phrenzies, or, as they termed it, the *Out-pouring* of the Spirit that spread such a dire Influence on the Principles and Morals of the *Enthusiasts* of the last Age.

The excellent Author of the *Friendly Debate*, Dr. PATRICK, Bishop of *Ely*, has a very good Remark on the prevailing Humour

mour of the Faction that was then uppermost. 'It was Zeal 'for God and his Cause if they aggravated the Faults of other 'Men; but it was a Malignity and Bitterness of Spirit, a Ha-'tred of God and the Power of Godliness, if one had the 'Boldness to tell a true and plain Story of *their* Miscarriages *.' Such was their Blindness and Partiality, that one may easily observe, that no Man ever opposed them but they said he *railed* and *calumniated*; but their Censure of others must be interpreted *gentle Reproofs* and *friendly Admonitions*.

Most of their Religion consisted in *Cant* and a heated Imagination, which they attributed to a Divine *Afflatus*: And did we not see of late a *Revival* of all this, when a Claim to Inspiration was so far assumed, that some of the *leading Men* and *Principals* could not contain, but made a publick Boast of their Sufficiency to work *Miracles*; yea, and the *lowest Class*, the very Mechanicks, boast of their Ability to interpret Scripture by immediate Inspiration, and that their Holding-forth is in the *Demonstration* of the *Spirit*? You shall hear Abundance of the same canting Expressions concerning *Free Grace*, *glorious Light*, and holding forth *naked Christ*, &c. Of which I shall here subjoin a notable Instance among the *Independents* in *America*.

The Independents in *New-England* pretend to more refined Christianity, to a stricter Church-discipline, and to greater Purity, without the least Mixture of Alloy, than their Brethren in *Old-England*. He that has nothing else to do may peruse COTTON MATHER his large Folio *Ecclesiastical* History of *New-England*, from its first Planting in the Year 1620 'till 1698, when the Author wrote. In this Narrative one shall find (besides wonderful Providences both of *Judgment* and *Mercies*) Abundance of Stories that tally with every Class of Popish Saints and Persecutors that are recorded in their *Legends*. But, notwithstanding Mr. MATHER was Minister of *Boston*, yet that populous Town and most of the Colony became Converts of a sudden to a daring Woman, named Mrs. HUTCHINSON, whom since they debase with the odious Title of the *American Jezebel*. She was looked upon as a *Prophetess* (such were her Spiritual Gifts) raised up of God for some great Work, as the *Calling* of the *Jews*, and other great and extraordinary Feats. ——This they impute *since* to her *Craft* and *Cunning*; but I have Reason to think (says the excellent Bishop of *Ely*) the truer Cause was the *Ignorance* of those *knowing* People, who were easily cheated by her new Phrases and soft Doctrines concerning *Free Grace*, *Glorious Light*, and holding forth *naked* CHRIST, especially with such pretended Mysteries as these, *that Christ is the*

* Friendly Debate, Part 2. p. 35. Ed. 5. Lond.

the new Creature, that we may have all Graces, and yet want CHRIST; *that there can be no true Closing with* CHRIST *in a Promise that hath a Qualification or Condition expressed*; that *conditional Promises are legal*, and therefore *no true Comfort can be had from them*; that *to act by Virtue of or Obedience to a Command is legal*; that *to evidence Justification by Sanctification or Graces* *savours* of Rome; *that the Witness of the Spirit is merely immediate without any Respect to the Word, or Concurrence with it*; *that the Seal of the Spirit is limited to this immediate Witness*, and *doth never witness to any Work of Grace, or any Conclusions of our's*; and finally, *that the immediate Revelation of my good Estate, without any Respect to the Scriptures, is as clear to me as the Voice of God from Heaven to St.* PAUL. *

The Allurement of those luscious Doctrines and big Phrases so bewitched those People, (because in Truth they were conceited and ignorant, and stood upon the Basis of an heated Imagination) that they catched the Infection almost to a Man, who yet would have stopped their Ears like the deaf Adder to the Charms of *sober Reason*. And JEZEBEL continued in great Reputation for a long Time; but at length, as is frequent in such tumultuary Proceedings, some of the wiser Sort began to suspect that her Aim was to be Foundress of a new-modelled Religion, patched up of old Heresies, the wild Notion of *Enthusiasts*, and the Blasphemies of the *Ranters*. Her Credit then began to sink; and she, that was the Idol of the Party but of late, was now the Contempt and Scorn of the Vulgar: But some of the Old Leaven sticks still in *Manifestations* and *Experiences*.

I believe it is natural from hence to conclude, that our late *pretended Reformers*, who traversed Kingdoms to make Proselytes to their new-modelled Dispensation, borrowed a great deal from this Plan of Madam HUTCHINSON's: Some of the Materials, indeed, seem to be borrowed from the *Montanists*, as is evident from several Oddities and Notions in Principle and Practice peculiar to that Sect; some from the *Old Puritans* and *Donatists*; several from the *Modern Puritans*, more especially the rigid *Scotch* Covenanters; several from the *Pietists*, a Sect sprung up in *Switzerland*, which for a Time spread very much in the Protestant Cantons; which Two last *Denominations* shall be treated of more at large in another Place. Several Tenents seem evidently to be fetched from the *Moravians*, who now are detected to be a very vile Sect, and infamous for their Lust and Licentiousness †. And finally a great many of their odd Notions

* Friendly Deb. P. 2. p. 112, from Mr. *Welds*.

† V. Comparison of the Moravians, &c. Lond. 1755.

tions owe their Original to the Caprice of the *American Jezebel*. So that *Methodism* is a Medley-Composition, consisting of several noxious Ingredients, all concentring in *Enthusiasm*.

I have mentioned elsewhere, and gave a Specimen of, several crude Notions that were the Delight and favourite Expressions of Enthusiasts and Fanaticks in the last Century, and no doubt caressed by a great many in the present. The following Instance is so remarkable, that I cannot well omit it. Thus one of them introduces the Soul complaining, *That the Dugs of Divine Love are full, but I cannot suck.* Answer, *Be of good Comfort,* CHRIST *will not only open his Bosom, but thy Mouth.*—*But I cannot fetch out the Milk that lies in his Breast; I am but weak.* Answer, CHRIST *is sweet, and with his Finger he will force out the Milk of Mercy into thy Mouth,* if thou can'st but open thy Mouth *.

No Body needs wonder at this and such other Stuff, who considers that the Civil and Religious Actions of the Leading Men, that bore the greatest Sway in those Times, were in a great Measure guided by a strong Bent of an Enthusiastick Cast of Mind. And *Enthusiasm* armed with Power (as says a Great Man) is *like a Sword in the Hands of a Madman.* To this and their Success in Rebellion are owing, the King's Murder, and all the Distractions of those licentious Times, assisted indeed by *Papists*, who always look with an envious Eye on the Established Church of *England*, as the Bulwark of the Reformation.

Dr. NORTHLEIGH, a learned Physician, writes, *That, talking sometimes in* France, *among some of their Learned and Judicious, of Cardinal* RICHLIEU, *I found several ingenuously to confess, what many with us are difficult to believe, that as he was the Author of some of their Troubles in* France, *so he had been as instrumental in sowing the Seeds of Discord between the King and Parliament in England.* And elsewhere he does affirm, *That the* Frenchmen *boasted that the Cardinal had helped the* English *Rebels to behead the King* †.

Besides this single Testimony there are Two remarkable Letters extant, (as has been intimated in the last Chapter) from Sir WILLIAM BOSWELL, Embassador at the *Hague*, to Arch-Bishop LAUD; the other from Bishop BRAMHALL to Arch-Bishop USHER; shewing what Hand the *Papists* had in the Rebellion, and how notably they acted the Puritans. The first, printed from Sir ROBERT COTTON, is as follows ‖:

'MOST

* V. Fr. Debate, Part 2. 119, from *John Durant* his Sips of Sweetness.

† A Voyage through Europe, Part 2. p. 85, 123.

‖ Vid. Mr. *Neal*'s 2d Vol. of The History of the *Puritans*, examined. By *Z. Grey*, L. L. D. London, 1736. pag. 92, &c.

'MOST REVEREND,

'As I am here employed by our Sovereign Lord the King, 'your Grace can testify I have left no Stone unturned for his 'Majesty's Advancement; neither can I omit (whenever I 'meet with Treacheries, or Conspiracies against the Church 'and State of *England*) the sending your Grace an Account 'in general. I fear Matters will not answer your Expectations, 'if your Grace do but seriously weigh them with Deliberation: 'For, be you assured, the *Romish* Clergy have gulled the misled 'Party of our *English* Nation, and *that* under a *Puritanical* 'Dress; for which the several *Fraternities* of *that Church* have 'lately received *Indulgences* from the See of *Rome*, who be 'Natives of his Majesty's Realm and Dominions, and instruct 'them in all manner of Principles and Tenets contrary to the 'Episcopacy of the Church of *England*.

'There be in the Town of *Hague*, to my certain Know-'ledge, Two dangerous Impostors, of whom I gave Notice 'to the Prince of *Orange*, who have Indulgences granted them, 'and known to be of the Church of *Rome*, although they seem '*Puritans*, and do converse with several of our *English* Factors; 'the one, JAMES MURRAY, a *Scotchman*; the other, JOHN 'NAPPER, a *Yorkshire* Blade. The main Drift of these In-'tentions is to pull down the English *Episcopacy*, as being the 'Support of the Imperial Crown of our Nation: For which 'Purpose above *Sixty Romish Priests* are gone, within these 'two Years, out of the Monasteries of the *French* King's 'Dominions, to preach up the *Scotch Covenant*, and Mr. KNOX's 'Descriptions and Rules within that *Kirk*, and to spread 'the same about the Northern Coast of *England*. Let 'therefore his Majesty have an Inkling of these Crotchets, 'that he may be persuaded that whenever Matters of the 'Church come before him to refer them to your Grace, and 'the Episcopal Party of the Realm; for there be great Prepa-'rations making ready against the Liturgy and the Ceremonies 'of the Church of *England*, and all evil Contrivances here 'and in *France* to make your Grace and Episcopacy odious to 'all Reformed Protestants abroad. It has wrought so much 'on divers of the foreign Ministers of the *Protestants*, that 'they esteem our Clergy little better than *Papists*.

'*I rest your Grace's most humble Servant*,

'W. B.'

Hague, June 12, 1640.

A Let-

A Letter from the Right Reverend JOHN BRAMHALL, *Bishop of* Derry, *(afterwards Primate of* Ireland) *to the Most Reverend* JAMES USHER, *Arch-bishop of* Armagh.

'MOST REVEREND,

'I thank God I do take my Pilgrimage patiently; yet I 'cannot but condole the Change of the Church and State of '*England*, and in my Pilgrimage more than ever, because I 'dare not witness nor declare to that straying Flock of our 'Brethren in *England* who have misled them: But, that your 'Lordship may be more sensible of the Church's Calamities, 'and of the Danger she is in of being ruined if God be not 'merciful unto her, I have sent you Part of my Discoveries, 'and *it* from credible Hands; at this present Time having so 'sure a Messenger.

'It plainly appears, that in the Year 1646, by Order from '*Rome*, above an Hundred *Romish Priests* were sent into *Eng-* '*land*, consisting of *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish*, who have been 'educated in *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Spain*. In each of 'these *Romish* Nurseries these Scholars were taught several 'Handicraft Trades and Callings, as their Ingenuity was most 'bending, besides their Orders or Functions of that Church.

'They have many yet at *Paris* a fitting up to be sent over, 'who twice in the Week oppose one the other; one pretend- 'ing *Presbytery*, the other *Independency*, some *Anabaptism*, and 'others contrary Tenets, dangerous and prejudicial to the 'Church of *England*, and to all the Reformed Churches abroad.

'When the *Romish* Orders do thus argue *pro* and *con*, 'there is appointed one of the Learned of those Convents to 'take Notes, and to judge; and as he finds their Fancies, 'whether for *Presbytery*, *Independency*, *Anabaptism*, *Atheism*, 'or for any new Tenets, so accordingly they be to act, and to 'exercise their Wits.

'Upon the Permission when they be sent abroad, they 'enter their Names in the *Convent-Registry*, and also their Li- 'cences; if a *Franciscan*, if a *Dominican* or *Jesuit*, or any 'other Order, having several Names there entered in their 'Licence; in case of a Discovery in one Place, then to fly 'into another, and there to change their Names or Habit.—— 'For an Assurance of their Constancy to their several Orders, 'they are to give *Monthly Intelligence* to their *Fraternities* 'wherever they be dispersed: So that the *English* abroad know 'News better than ye at home.

'When they return into *England* they are taught their Les- 'son, to say (if any enquire from whence they came) that

'they

'they were *poor Christians* that fled from beyond Sea for their 'Religion's Sake, and are now returned with glad News to 'enjoy the Liberty of Conscience.

'The Hundred that went over in 1646 were most of them 'Soldiers in the Parliament's *Army*, and were daily to correspond 'with those *Romanists* in the late King's Army, and pretended 'to fight for his Sacred Majesty; for at that Time there were 'some *Roman Catholicks*, who did not know the Design, con-'triving against the Church and State of *England*.

'But the Year following, 1647, many of those *Romish* Or-'ders, who came over the Year before, were in Consultation 'together, knowing each other; and those of the King's 'Party asking some why they took with the Parliament's Side, 'and asking others whether they were bewitched to turn *Pu-'ritans*, not knowing the Design. But at last Secret *Bulls* and '*Licences* being produced by those of the *Parliament Side*, it 'was declared between them, That there was no better Design 'to confound the *Church of England* than by pretended Liberty 'of Conscience. It was argued then, that *England* would be 'a Second *Holland*, a Commonwealth; and, if so, what would 'become of the King? It was answered, Would to God it 'were come to that Point! It was answered again, "Your-"selves have preached so much against *Rome* and his Holiness, "that *Rome* and her *Romanists* will be little better for the "Change." But it was replied, You shall have *Mass* suffi-'cient for 100,000 in a short Space.——Then some of the 'most Merciful of the *Romanists* said, *This cannot be, unless the 'King die.*

'Upon which Argument, the *Romish* Orders, thus licensed 'and in the Parliament Army, wrote to their *several Convents*, 'but especially to the *Sorbonists*, Whether it may be scrupled 'to make away our late Godly King? It was returned from 'the *Sorbonists*, That it was lawful for *Roman Catholicks* to 'work Changes in Governments for the Mother Church's Ad-'vantage, and chiefly in *Heretical* Kingdoms; and so it was 'lawful to make away the King.

'Thus much, to my Knowledge, have I seen and heard 'since my leaving your Lordship, which I thought very requi-'site to inform your Grace; for myself would hardly have 'credited these Things, had not mine Eyes seen sure Evidence 'of the same. Let these Things sleep within your gracious 'Lordship's Breast, and not awake but upon sure Grounds; 'for this Age can trust no Man, there being so great Fallacy 'amongst Men. So the Lord preserve your Lordship in

'Health, for the Nation's Good, and the Benefit of your 'Friends! which shall be the Prayer of,

July 20, 1654. *Your humble Servant*, J. DERENSIS.

I have inserted these two remarkable Letters at Length, as being wrote by two eminent Persons, a great *Statesman*, and a very worthy *Prelate*, and both of unexceptionable Authority. Herein, as in a Glass, some of our Modern Criticks may view the Obliquity of their Principles, while they so unmercifully traduce that Reign as favouring too much of *Popery* in the Church, and *Tyranny* in the State. Hence it is evident, that the *Conclave* was the Nursery of this unnatural Rebellion, where Matters were cooked up so nice as to hit the Taste of the *Fanatick* Party in *England*, even to a Man. So that, as the principal Fomentors of this accursed War had an Enthusiastick Cast of Mind, they were easily wrought upon by the Subtilty of the *Jesuits* and other *Romish* Priests in Disguise. 'One 'Thing (says Bishop BURNET) in the Method of carrying on 'this great Wickedness is clearly borrowed from the *Papists*, 'viz. the Actors pretending to *Enthusiasm* and *inward Directions* for what they did, tho' it was clear contrary both to 'the Laws of God and Man. That the Person of our Prince 'is sacred and exempt from Punishment is a constant Maxim 'of our Government, which makes his ill Ministers and Counsellors accountable for every Thing that is done amiss; that 'the House of Commons cannot set up, by their single Authority, a Court to judge of the Life of the meanest Subject; 'that a Force put on either House, tho' but a small Part were 'violently excluded, makes it to be no more a House of Parliament, and that much more, when the far greater Part were 'secluded, they were certainly no House of Commons; that 'one House, without the Concurrence of the other, and the 'Royal Assent joined to both, could not do any Thing legally; and, finally, that the Officers of the Army had no 'Right to assume the Government into their Hands; were all 'Things so manifest according to the Constitution of this Kingdom, that they, who acted so contrary to them, knew they 'could never justify themselves by either Law or Precedent. 'It was necessary then to fly to somewhat that should seem to 'be above all the Limitations and Restraints of Law; *and that 'was to pretend secret Directions from God.* A *Doctrine* (saith 'the Bishop) that overturns the main and fundamental Principle of the Reformation, which is, That in all Things which 'relate to God, the Scriptures only are to be our Rule. And, 'indeed,

'indeed it is hard to determine whether the referring all Controversies of Religion to one *infallible Judge*, or the giving 'up of Men to the *Heats* of their own Fancies, be the most 'dangerous Principle.' *

As this was delivered in a *Sermon*, it was not meet that the Bishop should descend to Particulars in order to illustrate his Assertion. The History of those dismal Times do abundantly Supply that Defect. There was a publick Order made to keep a *Fast*, that the few Members then left, and the Military Men, might enquire what was the Will of Heaven concerning the King. The Order is as followeth. Die Jovis, 7 Sept. 1648, *Resolved that there be a Day of Publick Humiliation for this House to seek God in these Times of Difficulty, and that To-morrow be the Day, and kept here in this House. Resolved that Mr.* PETERS, *Mr.* MARSHAL, *and Mr.* CARIL, *be desired to perform the Duty on the Day of Humiliation with the House To-morrow.* The same Order was again enjoined on Dec. the 20th following for a *Day of Humiliation* on the same Affair and Purpose.

At both of these *Mock* Humiliations HUGH PETERS held forth: What Part his Associates did perform I cannot tell. Upon the first Meeting he chose for his Text Ps. cxlix, 8. *To bind their King with Chains, and their Nobles with Fetters of Iron. This Honour have all his Saints.* From which Words, perverted and applied at random, (as it was then a too licentious Custom) the Droll discharged such a Torrent of abusive Language against the King that his raving Imagination could suggest. After he had disgorged a great deal of Venom, *But soft there*, saith he, *I must not talk so here; I am in the King's Chapel. There is a very remarkable Passage in* AMOS: AMOS *went to preach, and* AMAZIAH *would not let him; but* AMOS *would preach. The poor Wretch would not hear me, but yet I will preach.* † ——At the Second Convention he took his Text from *Isa.* vii. 14. *They shall call his Name* IMMANUEL. He made very short Work with the Text or Context, but immediately quitted it, and fell to his usual Rants, by telling Stories of the King to render him odious. 'You noble Gentlemen of the House of Commons, saith he, 'you are the *Sanhedrin* and the Great Council of the 'Nation; therefore you must be sure to do us Justice, and 'from you we do expect it. Do not prefer the Great *Barabbas*, *Murderer*, *Tyrant*, *Traytor*, [meaning the King] 'before these poor Hearts, [pointing to the *Soldiers*] who are 'our *Saviour's*.' And, as if he had now applied the Words of his Text to some Purpose, he added in the Conclusion, 'IMMANUEL

* Serm. on January 30, 1680—1, pag. 14.
† Tryal of the Regicides, p. 186, 187.

'MANUEL is written on the Bridle of their Horses; but, 'to the King's Party, I have known Eighty Thousand of the 'and not one of them that had any Grace in him.' *

One needs not doubt, after such abominable Stuff from Pulpit, but that he sufficiently humoured his Masters that Work they were going about was acceptable to the Lo Though OLIVER himself could not refrain from laughing his wild Pranks and Discourses from the Pulpit, yet he care him as being a very fit Tool to carry on his more secret Co trivances; and consequenty, pretending to be influenced by Heavenly Discourses, *he* likewise, with the *rest* of that infam Gang (being *now* not above 25, or 26 at most) of the Ho of Commons, had Recourse to God in Prayer, to know Will how to act in this great and weighty Affair. And ev one pretends he has had a gracious Return, that it was the W of God the King should be destroyed.

Bishop BURNET takes Notice, as was hinted above, that they had not the least Umbrage, or any Manner of Preten from the known Laws of the Realm, to commit this Act Barbarity; so they had Recourse to the Supreme Court of He ven, and impiously pretend to receive a *Special Direction* fro above to justify the execrable Fact. All the *Regicides* that su fered persisted in that Notion to the last. Major-General HA RISON (who was an *Anabaptist*) vindicates the Fact, and sa 'As to the Blood of the King, I have not in the least a 'Guilt laying upon me; for I have many a Time *sought the Lo* 'with Tears, to know if I have done amiss in it, but was ther confirmed that the Thing was more of God than 'Men†.' Mr. JOHN CAREW (a Gentleman of an Antie Family in *Cornwal*, but a mere Enthusiast) alledges on Tryal, That what he did in sentencing the King, and signi the Warrant for his Execution, *was in the Fear of the Lor and in Obedience to his Holy and Righteous Laws.* He boldly ferted, that he had not the least Regret or Disturbance on Spirit about that for which he was to die, for what he did w from the *Lord*, and if it were to be done again, he would it‖. THOMAS SCOT (born of obscure Parents, yet at leng a Leading Man in the House) declared at his Tryal, *I take G to witness*, saith he, *I have by Prayers and Tears often sought t Lord, that, if there were any Iniquity in the Proceeding, he wou shew it me*§. This Man was a violent Enemy to Episcopacy a Monarchy; and, after he had contributed as large a Share

* Tryal of the Regicides, pag. 182, 186.
† Ibid. Part II. p. 2. and Part I. p. 56.
‖ Ibid. Part I. pag. 91, 92. Part II. pag. 13.
§ Ibid. Part I. p. 105.

any in the Kingdom (according to his Ability) to the Ruin of both, he procured the Palace of *Lambeth* for his Mansion-house. This is the Man that so far gloried in his Villainy that he publickly declared *that he should never repent of it*, and desired that when he died it might be inscribed upon his Tomb-stone, *Here lieth* THOMAS SCOTT, *who adjudged the late King to Death.* Col. AXTEL, as he was going to Execution, called for a Bible and hugged it, saying, *This Book hath the whole Cause in it for which we suffer.* Horrid Blasphemy! as if the Sacred Scriptures had encouraged Rebellion and Parricide! On the very same Day he thus expressed himself, *If I had a Thousand Lives, I could lay them all down for the Cause---against the Surplice and Common-prayer-Book; and I tell you that the Surplice and Common-prayer-Book shall not stand long in* England, *for it is not of God**.——He might have ended his Life with more edifying Sentiments: But we see (among other Instances, in *this*) how strong and operative is the Spirit of *Enthusiasm* even at the last Gasp of Life, when it is habitually rooted! Rather then to confess himself *guilty*, and to humble himself for his horrid Impiety against God and Man, he chuses to prophecy of the Downfall of Episcopacy and the Liturgy; which single Instance is enough to prove him a false Prophet.——When a Gentleman was endeavouring to awaken the Conscience of Col. ADRIAN SCROOPE, and make him sensible of his Crime, he made a violent Thrust at him, and, to shew how self-righteous he was, he haughtily replied, AVOID, SATAN! †

I shall cite no more of their Rants. Let this suffice as a Comment to illustrate that Part of Bishop BURNET's Sermon, That, since their whole Proceedings were directly against the Laws of the Land, they had Recourse to *somewhat that should seem to be above all the Limitations and Restraints of Law; and that was, to pretend secret Directions from God.*

Thus the bloody *Enthusiasts* brought the good and pious King, by their pretended Inspiration, to the fatal Block. The House of Lords, to their Honour be it spoken, (though a great many of them at the first unhappy Dissention contributed rather to *widen* the Breach than to *close* it, yet) abhorred this abominable Fact: And no more than 25 or 26 of the Lower House concurred in it; and those of an abandoned Character, fierce Enthusiasts, hardened in Rebellion and Mischief.——How condescending and gracious the good King was towards his Rebel Commons is sufficiently apparent in his Majesty's Concession to all their Demands, how unreasonable soever, in the late Treaty at

* Tryal of the Regicides, Part II. p. 89, 90.

† Ibid. pag. 73.

at the Isle of *Wight*, viz. in September, 1648. How moving and pathetick are the Words of the King when he found all his Concessions ineffectual! 'Let the World judge,' says he, 'whether my Endeavours have not been attended with Reality 'in this late Treaty, and whether I was not as ready to grant 'as they to ask: And yet all this is not Satisfaction to them 'that pursue their own ambitious Ends more than the Welfare 'of a miserable Land. Were not the dying Hearts of my poor 'distressed People much revived with the Hopes of a Happiness 'from this Treaty? and how suddenly are they frustrated of 'their Expectations! Have I not formerly been condemned 'for yielding too little to my Houses of Parliament? and must 'I now be condemned by yielding too much? Have I not 'formerly been imprisoned for making War? and shall I now 'be condemned for making Peace? Have I not formerly en-'joyed the Society of my dear Wife and Children in Peace and 'Quietness? and shall I now neither enjoy them nor Peace? 'Have I not been condemned for evil Counsellors? and shall I 'now be condemned for having no Council but God? These 'are unutterable Miseries, that the more I endeavour for Peace, 'the less my Endeavours are respected: And how shall I here-'after know what to grant, when you yourselves know not 'what to ask? I refer it to your Consciences whether I have 'not satisfied your Desires in every Particular since this Treaty: 'If you find I have not, then let me bear the Burthen of the 'Fault; but, if I have given you ample Satisfaction, (as I am 'sure I have) then you are bound to vindicate me from the 'Fury of those whose Thoughts are filled with Blood: Though 'they pretend Zeal, yet they are but Wolves in Sheep's 'Cloathing.' *

These are moving Words; but nothing could move the Attention, much less the Pity, of hard-hearted Villains, who made Religion a Cloak for their Impiety. Their Direction from above, in their Cant, does over-rule all carnal Reasoning.—— There is no Proceeding *just* against any Man, the meanest Peasant, much less against a Sovereign Prince, but what is warranted by the Laws of God as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, or the Municipal Laws of the Land or Kingdom where he lives. But the bloody Enthusiasts (a great many of them indeed being *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*) over-ruled this by a pretended Commission from Heaven, and signed a Warrant for his Execution in the Form following.

——"Whereas CHARLES STUART, King of *England*, is, "and standeth convicted, attainted, and condemned, of High-"Trea-

* A brief Chronicle of the Civil Wars, by H. J. Lond. 1663.

"Treason, and Sentence upon *Saturday* last was pronounced "against him to be put to Death by severing his Head from "his Body, of which *Sentence* Execution yet remaineth to be "done:---THESE are therefore to will and require you to see "the said *Sentence* executed in the open Street before *Whitehall* "upon the Morrow, being the 30th Day of this Instant Month "*January*, between the Hours of Ten in the Morning and "Five in the Afternoon of the same Day, with full Effect; "and for so doing this shall be your sufficient Warrant."——

When the King was brought upon the Scaffold, he spoke as followeth, directing his Speech chiefly to Col. THOMLINSON. "I shall be very little heard of any Body else, I shall there-"fore speak a Word to you here. Indeed, I could have held "my Peace very well, if I did not think that holding my Peace "would make some Men think that I did submit to the Guilt "as well as to the Punishment. But I think it is my Duty to "God first, and then to my Country, to clear myself both as "an honest Man, a good King, and a good Christian. I "shall begin first with my *Innocency*; and in Truth I think it "not very needful for me to insist long on this, for all the "World knows that I did never *begin a War* with the *Two* "*Houses of Parliament*: And I call *God to witness*, unto whom "I must shortly make an Account, that I never did intend to "incroach upon their *Privileges*. They began upon me, it is "the *Militia* they began upon: They confess the *Militia* was "mine, but they thought to have it from me. And, to be "short, if any Body will look to the Dates of the Commis-"sions, of their Commissions and mine, and likewise to the "Declaration, he will see clearly that they began these unhappy "Troubles, not I." This Beginning of the *Royal Martyr*'s Dying-speech I thought proper to transcribe, because that several evil-minded Men, more especially among the Sectaries, (the Venom of their Ancestors being still hereditary in the Blood) have the Face to maintain, That the King suffered Death by the known Laws of the Land, for that the King was the Aggressor in the War, and that the Parliament took up Arms purely in their own Defence.

It was a Circumstance that much aggravated the Case of Col. HARRISON, (one of the Regicides that was executed) that, when the King was brought from the Isle of *Wight*, he should say, *It will be good for us to blacken him what we can, pray let us blacken him*. And truly this is a *Black* Charge upon his Memory *still* by base Men upon the same Principles.——Even the Earl of *Manchester*, (an active Man in the Rebellion, yet) in the

Debate about bringing his Majesty to a Tryal, thus expressed himself in publick, *The Parliament of* England, *by the fundamental Laws, consists of Three Estates, King, Lords, and Commons, whereof the King is the first and chiefest. He calls and dissolves Parliaments; and without him there can be no Parliament; and therefore 'tis absurd to say the King can be a* Traytor *against the Parliament.*——The Earl of NORTHUMBERLAND spoke next, *That the greatest Part, at least Twenty to One, of the People of* England *were not yet satisfied whether the King levied War first against the Houses, or the Houses against him; and, if the King did levy War first against the Houses, there is no Law to make it Treason in him; and for them to declare it Treason by an Ordinance, when the Matter of Fact is not yet proved, nor any Law extant to judge it by, is very unreasonable.* At the same Time the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Denbigh* said, " They would be torn in Pieces " before they would assent with the Commons."——Being thus rejected by the Lords, the pitiful Remainder of the Lower House, being but 25 or 26 in Number, came to the following Resolutions on *January* 4, 1648.——1. That the People are, under God, the Original of all just Power;---2. That the Commons of *England* in Parliament assembled, chosen by and representing the People, have the Supreme Power of the Nation; ---3. That whatsoever is enacted or declared for Law, by the House of Commons assembled in Parliament, hath the Force of a Law.——This passed without one Negative Voice; which shews that CROMWELL had them all at his Will.

To conclude this Head. ' There is no Doubt that this good ' King had some Infirmities and Imperfections, and might ' thereby be misled into some Mistakes in Government, which ' the Nation, in Parliament represented, might have reformed ' by moderate and peaceful Councils. But the Reformation ' lost its Name and Nature too, when so many Acts passed by ' him in Parliament, that did restrain the Prerogative of the ' Crown from doing the Mischief it had been taxed with, *but* ' *not the Effect* they ought to have met with of restraining the ' People too from further Demands; and when the inordinate ' Ambition, Anger, and Revenge, of some of the Great Lea- ' ders could not be limited within any Bounds 'till they had in- ' volved the Nation in Blood, destroyed many Thousands of ' their own Countrymen and Fellow-citizens, and brought at ' last their own Sovereign to lose his Head upon a Scaffold, un- ' der a pretended Form of an High Court of Justice, unpre- ' cedented from the Beginning of the World, and, to finish the ' Work, had overthrown all the Laws of their own Country *.

There

* Preface to Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, P. IV.

There is a Set of Men that make it in a manner a Part of their Religion to aſperſe the Memory of the *Royal Martyr*, and generally ſhew their Contempt by a Grimace or a Horſe-laugh at his being named a *good* and *juſt* and *gracious* Prince.——The ingenious J. HOWEL, Eſq; (Brother to the Biſhop of *Briſtol* of that Name) had infinitely better Reaſon (as living in that unhappy Time) to be acquainted with his true Character than any Perſon now-a-days can ever pretend to. And he writeth thus of the moſt exceptionable Part of his Conduct. "The Ground-"work that the King ſent out Privy-Seals for Loan-moneys, "Ship-money, &c. was to aſſiſt his Uncle the King of *Den-"mark*, who was ſo outragiouſly purſued by Count TILLY, "and to recover the *Palatinate* for his Brother-in-Law. The "*Parliament* ſet him upon this Work, but would grant him no "Supplies; which obliged his Majeſty to have Recourſe to "thoſe Means to *ſuccour* the *Proteſtants* that were ſo harraſſed "by the *Papiſts*."---Vid. HOWEL's Familiar Letters, Sect. IV. Let. 27.

But to return to the main Subject. Now, the two principal Objects, that the *Enthuſiaſts* of that Age did level their Fury againſt, were *Monarchy* or Kingly Government in the State, and the Liturgy and *Epiſcopacy* in the Church. 'This Spirit of 'Enthuſiaſm (ſays a late very ingenuous and learned Author) 'imports no leſs Danger and Diſturbance to the *State* than to 'the *Church*. It is too plain, indeed, that there is ſomething 'in it directly inconſiſtent with the Rules of *Government*, and 'the Peace and Security of *Civil Society*; for how little will '*humane* Laws be regarded by Men who think themſelves 'moved by *God* to overturn and oppoſe them! or what *tem-'poral* Power ſhall controul the ſuppoſed Authority of a *Divine* 'Commiſſion! The Ardour and Reſolution with which ſuch 'Men will go on againſt all Oppoſition is beyond what any 'Worldly Motives, or even the warmeſt Concern for Civil In-'tereſt, could ever inſpire. The ſad Effects of their Outrage 'and Fury have been too well *known* and *felt* by the World; 'let them be but perſuaded that the *Sword of the Lord* is put 'into their Hands, and all the Terror, and all the Havock, 'aſcribed to it by the Antient Prophets, will be again fulfilled. 'The *Alarm* will be ſounded in the Words of *Scripture*, which 'ſhall give a Sanction and Solemnity to Cruelty and Murder. 'Thoſe emphatick Words of the Prophets ſhall be for ever 'in their Hearts and their Mouths: *The Sword, the Sword is 'drawn for the Slaughter,---it is furbiſhed, and given into the 'Hands of the Slayer. It ſhall be upon the People and the Princes 'of* Iſrael, *for this is the Day of the Lord God of Hoſts, a Day*

‘ *of Vengeance that he may avenge himself of his Adversaries;* ‘ *and the Sword shall devour, it shall be satiate and drunk with* ‘ *Blood.*——*O thou Sword of the Lord! how long wilt it be ere* ‘ *thou be quiet?*---*How can it be quiet, seeing the Lord hath given* ‘ *it a Charge, and hath appointed it, to consume and to destroy!* ‘ ---*Cursed be he that doth the Work of the Lord deceitfully! and* ‘ *cursed be he that keepeth back his Sword from Blood!* [Ezek. ‘ xxi. 18. Jer. xlvii. 6. xlviii. 10.] These and several other ‘ Passages of Scripture, *applied at random*, shall be their *Warrant* ‘ for all the Violence they commit. A false and confident Per- ‘ suasion that they are the Ministers of Divine Vengeance will ‘ animate them to the Slaughter, and justify *Revenge* upon their ‘ *Opposers*, who are always presumed to be the Enemies of ‘ God.” *

As there is no manner of Doubt that Dr. DESAGULIERS had those seditious Teachers direct in his Eye that founded the Trumpet to this unnatural Rebellion, it will not be at all improper to add a few Instances by Way of Illustration, as I did before on Bishop BURNET's Sermon on the same Subject.—— Not to insist on that Pulpit-buffoon, HUGH PETERS, (that was mentioned above) the most eminent of their Teachers were continually animating the Populace to stand stedfast to the good old *Cause*, instructing them daily in the Principles of Rebellion and Enthusiasm, *to be valiant and fight the Lord's Battles*, 1 Sam. xviii. 17. And when their Success in Arms had prevailed over the King, and they had him in their Custody, (for sometimes *the Wicked triumph, and the Workers of Iniquity boast themselves*, Ps. xciv. 3, 4.) then their constant Cry was to bring the *Traitor* to speedy Justice and Execution.——THO. BROOKS in his Fast Sermon before the Commons, *Dec.* 26, 1648, makes the following Address:---‘ Right Honourable, consider this, those ‘ Persons who have neglected the Execution of Justice upon ‘ their most implacable Enemies when God has given them into ‘ their Hands, these God has left to perish basely and miserably. ‘ See it in AHAB: God gives BENHADAD into AHAB's ‘ Hands, *because thou hast let a Man go that I had appointed to* ‘ *Destruction, therefore thy Life shall be for his Life*, 1 Kings, ‘ xx. 42. So concerning SAUL's sparing AGAG, he would ‘ shift off the Command, and therefore God shifted him out ‘ of the Kingdom, when he neglected to do Justice to an im- ‘ placable Enemy whom God had given into his Hands.”—— [*N. B.* This Mr. BROOKS was a Member of the Assembly of Divines.

Mr.

* Dr. Desaguliers's Sermon, Jan. 30. p. 22.

Mr. HERLE, a Member alſo of the Aſſembly, in his Faſt-Sermon before the Commons, Nov. 15, 1644, makes the following Harangue. 'Phyſicians, by way of Revulſion, ſtop 'Bleeding by letting of Blood.——Do ye then Juſtice to the 'Greateſt. SAUL's Sons are not to be ſpared; no, nor AGAG, 'nor BENHADAD, though themſelves Kings. ZIMRI and 'COZBI, though Princes of the People, muſt be purſued into 'their Tents. This is the Way to conſecrate yourſelves to 'God.'——Dr. STANTON, who was likewiſe a Member of the Aſſembly, in his Faſt-ſermon before the Lords, Octob. 30, 1644, has this remarkable Admonition. 'Execute Judgment 'impartially. To hang a poor Soldier for running from his 'Colours may have a Piece of Juſtice in it; but it was SAUL's 'ſparing of AGAG that rent his Kingdom from him. *'

Dr. SOUTH informs us, that he had it from the Mouth of DANIEL AXTELL (one of the Regicides that was executed) that he, with many more, went into that execrable War with ſuch a controuling Horror upon their Spirits, from thoſe Publick Sermons, (eſpecially thoſe of BROOKS and CALAMY) that they verily believed that they ſhould be accurſed of God for ever if they had not acted their Part in that diſmal Tragedy, and heartily done the Devil's Work, being ſo effectually called and commanded to it in God's Name†.——It would be tedious to tranſcribe more of this Stuff: The learned and accurate Dr. GREY has given a Specimen of about 30 Faſt-ſermons before the Lords and Commons, whoſe main Scope was to ſtir up to Rebellion, to aſperſe the King, and to bring him at laſt to the fatal Block.

But one may ſay they were really perſuaded they were doing the Work of the Lord.——That may be; but then it is a Demonſtration that they were rank Enthuſiaſts. *This falſe Perſuaſion*, ſays Dr. DESAGULIERS, *of being actuated by God has added Obſtinacy to Error, and given a Sanction to all Wickedneſs that Men could commit. They have pleaded the Spirit of God in Oppoſition to the Goſpel, and tranſgreſſed all his* Commands *whilſt they thought themſelves doing him* Service. And elſewhere in the ſame Diſcourſe he ſays, with a great deal of Judgment, *We have had too many Inſtances of Men who have extinguiſhed the Light of Reaſon to purſue a ſuppoſed Illumination from Heaven, and have pleaded a Divine Impulſe for Actions contrary to the Principles of Nature and all the eſtabliſhed Maxims of Morality.* ‖

There

* Vid. Dr. *Grey*'s Examination of Mr. *Neal*'s 2d Vol. of the Hiſtory of the Puritans, pag. 389, 394.

† Dr. South's Sermons, Vol. I. p. 513.

‖ Sermon, Jan. 30. p. 5, 20.

There was some Prospect of Peace 'till these furious *Divines* of the *Assembly* rendered it impracticable. The Words of his Majesty are very moving on this melancholy Subject. "I declare to the World, says the King, and God knows whether "or no this may be my last, that I have earnestly laboured for "Peace, and that my Thoughts were sincere and absolute, "without any sinister Ends, and that there was nothing left "undone by me that my Conscience would permit me to do. "I here protest before Heaven, that my own Afflictions (though "they need no Addition) afflict me not so much as my Peo-"ple's Sufferings. God comfort both them and me, and pro-"portion our Patience to our Sufferings! *

But, if one should pin his Faith on what Mr. BAXTER affimeth, he will tell you with his usual Veracity, *It is not true that they* [the Presbyterian Ministers] *stirred up People to War; there was hardly one such Man in a County, though they disliked the late Innovations, and were glad the Parliament was attempting a Reformation: They might inveigh too freely in their Sermons against the Vices of the Clergy, and the Severities of the late Times; but in all the Fast-sermons that I have read for some Years after the Beginning of the War I have met with no Reflections upon the Person of the King, but a Religious Observation of that Political Maxim,* The King can do no Wrong†.——But, as Dr. GREY does very justly remark, Mr. BAXTER's Authority can't sure be admitted against Fact. Some of their *Bloody* Expressions in their Fast-sermons have been cited but a few Lines above, and abundant more by the *Doctor* in his Examination of the Cavils of Mr. NEAL.——Notwithstanding all his pretended Sanctity, it is evident, even by this, that Mr. BAXTER could stretch a Point as well as most Men when it served his Turn; for surely he is not to be credited upon his own *Ipse dixit* against Matter of Fact.——Yea, the famous Mr. MILTON, Author of *Paradise lost and regained*, does evidently convict Mr. BAXTER of a *wilful and deliberate Falshood*, to give it no worse Expression; for says Mr. MILTON, 'They [viz. the Presbyterians] were 'most zealous to take Arms against the King to divest and dis-'anoint him of his Dignity, nay to *curse* him in all their *Ser-'mons* and Pamphlets over the Kingdom, whereof there re-'main numerous Instances still to be produced.' ‖

But if, after all, his Admirers will have it that he is still consistent with himself, and a Man of Integrity, will they admit his own Testimony in the Case? In a Book of his, called *The Holy*

* A brief Chronicle of the Civil Wars, by H. J. p. 347, 348. Lond. 1663.
† Dr. *Grey*'s Examination of *Neal*, p. 389.
‖ *Milton*'s Life before his Prose-works, p. 24.

Holy Commonwealth, publiſhed 1659, he thus delivers himſelf fully to the Purpoſe: 'If I had taken up Arms in that War 'againſt the Parliament, I had been a Traytor, and guilty of 'reſiſting the higher Powers.' And again (p. 486) he aſſumes higher Airs ſtill: 'I cannot ſee I was miſtaken in the main 'Cauſe; nor dare I repent of it, nor forbear the ſame if it was 'to be done in the ſame State of Things.' With abundance of Paſſages to the ſame Purpoſe *; which is an evident Proof that he was (to give him his Due) a compleat Rebel every Inch of him.

This noiſy Man pretended to write a Church-hiſtory, of Biſhops and their Councils, collected chiefly out of *Engliſh* Tranſlations; for the Original was a little too knotty for his Skill, witneſs his *Methodus Theologiæ*, Fol. publiſhed 1674, wrote in barbarous Latin.——*Now this Hiſtory of Biſhops*, as ſays a very learned Writer, *is nothing elſe but an Account of all the* Faults *that Biſhops have committed in the ſeveral Ages of the Church, without any Mention of their good Actions, of the Piety and Severity of their Lives, of their Zeal for the Faith, of their Charity towards the Poor, of their Contempt of the World, of their Labour and Diligence in their Office. Theſe were Things he thought, perhaps, not to belong to a Church-hiſtorian to relate: Theſe were improper, unedifying Examples; at leaſt wiſe they were not very agreeable to the Deſign of our Author, which was*, to diſgrace Dioceſan Epiſcopacy. *This Weeding of Church-hiſtory for the Faults of Biſhops* [and to conceal their Virtues] *is not to write or abridge Hiſtory, but to draw up an Indictment; and, becauſe many Things are falſly charged, it is no better than a Libel.* †

The ſame excellent Author *(anonymous)* proceeds thus: 'Moſt Men ſeem to be ſenſible of, and bewail, the Thriving 'of Prophaneneſs by the Countenance that it receives from our 'Differences: Yet, for all this, how few abate any thing of 'their Fierceneſs! How few will be ſo moderate as to ſacrifice 'even the moſt diſingenuous Arts of *Contention*, *Calumny*, and '*Railing*, to the Safety and Honour of our Common Faith!

'I wiſh Mr. BAXTER had this Conſideration before him 'when he ſet upon the Writing of his *Church-hiſtory of Biſhops*, '*and their Councils abridged*. He has indeed ſufficiently '*abridged* all the good Services that Biſhops and Councils have 'done to the Church; but their Miſcarriages he has enlarged 'upon to purpoſe, and ſometimes, by a foul Juggle, conveyed 'the beſt of their Actions into the Catalogue of their Crimes; 'and their greateſt Services for Religion prove a conſiderable

"Part

* Vid. Dr. *Grey*'s Examination of *Neal*, 387.

† A Vindication of the Primitive Church againſt Mr. Baxter, Preface, p. 2.

'Part of their Indictment.——I must confess I never saw any 'thing that, in my Judgment, reflected with more Dishonour 'upon Religion than this strange Account that he has given of 'the Progress of it, and the frightful Representation that he 'made of the Church in all Ages.

'Heathens have been civil and modest in their Character of 'us, compared with this. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, tho' 'he be something sharp upon DAMASUS, Bishop of *Rome*, yet 'speaks honourably of the Generality of Christian Bishops: 'ZOZIMUS does not mention CHRYSOSTOM with any Dis-'respect, though he had a fair Occasion: Nay, the scurril Wit 'of that Buffoon LUCIAN, nor the Malice of JULIAN the 'Apostate, have left nothing half so scandalous, in all their 'Libels against Christians, as this Church-historian, BAXTER, 'has raked up; for here is nothing to be seen, in his Book, 'but the Avarice, Ambition, Ignorance, Mistakes, and furious 'Contentions, of the Bishops, and the Governors of the 'Church: And, they being so bad, the People that were 'guided by their Order and Example could not be much better. 'And what can be the Effect of such an History, but that 'Men should believe there never was any Sort of People so 'desperately wicked, and so great Disturbers of the World? 'The Enemy of our Religion will have Reason to rejoice that 'his Work is in great measure done to his Hands; for this will 'serve him as a Common-place-book for railing against Christi-'anity; and the Christian Reader will be in Danger either of 'losing all his Patience, or a great deal of that Reverence he 'had for his Religion and those primitive Worthies that pro-'fessed and defended it. *

This is the Man of Candour and Sanctity of Manners, the Man of Truth and Sincerity, the Man of tender Conscience, as represented by the Men of his own Party, and their Proselytes and *modern* Allies, the *Moderns*.——He received *Deacon's* Orders from the Hands of a Bishop; and, the War soon after breaking out, he deserted the persecuted Episcopal Cause, and, like a provident Man, sided with the prevailing Party, where there was a new Prospect of Wealth, Advancement, and Authority. He was for some Time a Chaplain to a Regiment in the Rebel Army, and without any Scruple of Conscience usurped another Man's Benefice, viz. that of *Kidderminster*, the legal Incumbent still alive, and who lived to be restored to his own after the King's Return. Upon which Turn of Affairs, the invidious Mr. Baxter must have a Fling at the poor Clergyman that was so long from them, and now restored. *He never dis-*

* A Vindication of the Protestant Church against Mr. Baxter, Pref. p. 2, 3.

discovered, says he, *any Uneasiness 'till the Times changed, and then he was as assuming as he was before submissive**. See the Nature of the Man: There is no Manner of Circumstance or Incident whatever, in the Life and Action of a Loyalist and a Churchman, but he must carp at it, and make some invidious Reflection or other; nor any Manner of Crime or Indiscretion in the Life and Action of a Dissenter and Rebel, but he will endeavour to justify it. ——*N. B.* This Man's Grand-father was a strict Conformist, and, to speak in the Phrase of this his Grand-son, was looked upon as one of the *Laudensian Faction.* †

I will not say that Mr. BAXTER was a blustering, insolent Man, a Man of fierce and bloody Principles; yet I can never believe that he was a Man of a very tender Nature and Compassion, ever since I read the following Story of him, printed in his own Life-time, when he had an Opportunity to contradict it if he could.---*Mr.* BAXTER *may be pleased to call to mind what was done to one Major* JENNING, *the last War, in that Fight that was between* Lynsel *and* Longford, *in the County of* Salop, *where the King's Party having unfortunately the worst of the Day, the poor Major was stripped almost naked, and left for dead in the Field: But Mr.* BAXTER *and one Lieutenant* HURDMAN, *taking their Walk among the wounded and dead Bodies, perceived some Life left in the Major; and* HURDMAN *run him through the Body in cold Blood,* [though not mortally, as he intended] *Mr.* BAXTER *all the while looking on, and taking off with his own Hands the King's Picture from about his Neck, telling him, as he was swimming in his Gore, that he was* a Popish Rogue, and that was his Crucifix: *Which Picture was kept by Mr.* BAXTER *for many Years, 'till it was got from him (but not without much Difficulty) by one Mr.* SUMMERFIELD, *who then lived with Sir* THOMAS ROUSE, *and generously restored it to the poor Man, now alive at* Wick, *near* Pershore, *in* Worcestershire, *although at the Fight supposed to be dead, being, after the Wounds given him, dragged up and down the Field by the merciless Soldiers, Mr.* BAXTER *approving of the Inhumanity by feeding his Eyes with so bloody and barbarous a Spectacle.*

I THOMAS JENNING subscribe to the Truth of this Narrative above-mentioned, and have hereunto put my Hand and Seal, this 2d Day of *March*, 1681-2,

THOMAS JENNING. §

I never heard that this Man (so much admired by some, and despised by others) has retracted any of his *Rebellious Principles*,

H or

* Mr. Calamy's Life of *Baxter* abridged.

† Dr. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part II. p. 255.

§ Preface to the Life of Dr. Heylin, by Mr. G. Vernon, Lond. 1682.

or abated in his Course of *Schism*, though he seems to be concerned about some juvenile Peccadillo's, as robbing of Orchards, and over-charging his Stomach with Fruit, a Crime of infinite less Degree of Guilt than fomenting *Rebellion* in the State, and propagating *Schism* in the Church*. A great many moderate and sober Men are of Opinion (and perhaps very justly) that he had done abundantly better to have followed the Judgment of his *Wife* and *some others*, whose Advice to him was, *He had done better had he wrote fewer Books, and done those few better:* But he would not hearken to them†. There is no Manner of Doubt that some of his Books have done a great deal of Mischief, particularly that Work of his about *Witchcraft*, and his recommending Mr. COTTON MATHER's Book on the same Subject, whereby some Hundreds of innocent People (innocent as to the Crime laid to their Charge) were persecuted and put to Death, as is mentioned hereafter in the Chapter concerning Witchcraft.

The Destruction of the King and Church was the Aim and levelling Mark of the Faction, as was hinted above; and by the kind Assistance of *Romish Priests* they had their Wish in both for a Season.——The good Archbishop of *Canterbury* fell a Sacrifice to the Fanatick Rage of the Enthusiastick Zealots some Years before his Royal Master and Patron, viz. on *January* 10, 1644-5.——In Compliance to the leading Men of the Kirk of *Scotland* the Common Prayer was abolished in *November*, 1644; and, to gratify the *Scotch Covenanters* to the full for the Supplies that they expected from that Kingdom, Archbishop LAUD's Head was struck off as a Compliment to their fierce and bloody Dispositions, the main Charge against him being urged by Serjeant WILD, "That he was so guilty "an Offender, that he wondered the People did not pull him to "Pieces as he came to and fro from the Tower to his Tryal."§

The Faction of that Age, 'tis true, do charge him with *Popery* and *Arminianism:* But his incomparable Book, in the Defence of the Protestant Religion, against FISHER the Jesuit, does, to a Demonstration, refute the unjust and malicious Charge of his being any way a Favourer of Popery.——I esteem it as a Treasure, and am sure that the most eminent Writers since that Time have borrowed with a liberal Hand from this excellent Performance, though they are not altogether so ingenuous as to own it. I call to mind a very sarcastical Expression of AVERROES, (quoted in this Book) a Mahometan Philosopher

* Vid. Dr. Grey's Examination of Neal, p. 188.
† Breviate of Mrs. Baxter's Life, by R. Baxter, p. 73.
§ A Brief Chronicle of the Civil Wars, by H. J. Eccles. Chr. Oxon. pag. 112. *Lond.* 1663.

ſopher and Phyſician, againſt Tranſubſtantiation, who flouriſhed about the Year 1215: *Mundum peragravi*, ſays he, *& non vidi ſectam deteriorem, aut magis fatuam, quam* Chriſtiana, *quia deum quem colunt dentibus devorant**. It were eaſy to collect Teſtimonies of Great Men to confute this Calumny; but this ſingle Work of his is an everlaſting Monument of his firm Attachment to the Proteſtant Cauſe, and ſhews the Virulency of thoſe blood-thirſty Men that proſecuted him even unto Death.

As to the other Charge, that he was an *Arminian*, or *Anti-calviniſt*, the Noble Hiſtorian ſays of him, 'That he had, from 'his Entrance into the World, without any Diſguiſe or Diſſi-'mulation, declared his own Opinion in Oppoſition to the rigid 'Doctrine and Diſcipline of CALVIN; and, as ſoon as it was 'in his Power, he did all he could to hinder the Growth and 'Increaſe of that Faction, and to reſtrain thoſe who were in-'clined to it from doing the Miſchief they deſired to do†.'—— Now the Oppoſers of CALVIN's Doctrine, as his Lordſhip obſerves, 'were branded by the Name of *Arminians* from 'JAMES ARMINIUS, once the Divinity-profeſſor in the Uni-'verſity of *Leyden*, though many of our Divines had never 'read a Word written by the ſaid J. ARMINIUS: Either Side, 'viz. the *Calviniſts*, and thoſe called *Arminians*, defended and 'maintained the different Opinions as the Doctrine of the 'Church of *England*; as the Two great Orders in the Church 'of *Rome*, the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, did at the ſame 'Time, and many Hundred Years before, with more Vehe-'mence and Uncharitableneſs, maintain the ſame different 'Opinions one againſt the other; and yet either Party, *Domi-'nicans* and *Franciſcans*, profeſſing to adhere to the Doctrine 'of the Catholick Church.'——Now the Archbiſhop, as the Earl of *Clarendon* ſays, 'had, all his Life, eminently oppoſed 'CALVIN's Doctrine in thoſe Controverſies, before the Name 'of ARMINIUS was taken Notice of, or his Opinions heard 'of; and thereupon, for want of another Name, *they* had 'called him a *Papiſt*, which nobody believed him to be; and 'he had more manifeſted the contrary, in his Diſputations and 'Writings, than moſt Men had done; and, it may be,' (as his Lordſhip does very pertinently remark) 'the other Party 'found the more ſevere and rigorous Uſage from him for their 'propagating that Calumny againſt him.' §

He was a Man of great Parts and exemplary Virtues, (ſays

* Conference between Bp. Laud and Fiſher, by the Command of K. James I. p. 328. Lond. 1639. Fol.

† Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. 91. Oxford, 1717.

§ Ibid. p. 93.

the Noble Historian) but allayed and discredited by some unpopular and natural Infirmities. He was somewhat rash and hasty in his Expressions, and but too often unguarded where he ought to have been cautious and circumspect. He was also subject to break into a sudden Passion, though it was momentary and not lasting; and his *Ill-wishers* often made an Advantage of it to his great Disrepute. There are many Instances of this; and the King once gently reprimanded him for it. *

The Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, Dr. HACKET, makes a heavy Complaint against him of his foul Ingratitude to, and his Mal-treatment of, Archbishop WILLIAMS, who first recommended him to King JAMES, and upon his sole Recommendation, with some Difficulty, advanced him to the Bishoprick of St. *David's*. After some Debate, and a great deal of Warmth, the King told the Lord-keeper, (for such he was at that Time) *If you must carry your Point, then take him to you; but on my Soul you will repent it*†. And about a Year after, he procured him a considerable Living in Commendam, in the same Diocese, to help his Revenue; which being unsought, and the News brought to him at *Durham-house* by Mr. WILLIAM WYNN, his Expression was, *Mr.* WYNN, *my Life will be too short to requite your Lord's Goodness*. Yet, notwithstanding this Declaration of Gratitude, King JAMES happened in this Case to be a true Prophet; for LAUD proved to be a bitter Enemy to his Benefactor, and that for the Course of 15 Years without any Interruption. *Of all Men*, says the above-mentioned Prelate, *Bishop* LAUD *was the Party whose Enmity was most tedious, and most spiteful, against his great Benefactor. He battered him with old and new Contrivances* 15 *Years: His very Dreams were not without them, as they are enrolled in his Memorials, drawn out with his own Hand* §. In this Case, and several other human Frailties, it must be allowed, his Conduct is altogether unjustifiable.

But that which very much raised the *Odium* of the Populace against the Archbishop was his too severe Proceedings in the *Star-chamber* against BURTON, PRYN, and BASTWICK, Three Men, though of different Professions, Divinity, Law, and Physick, yet united in an ungovernable Heat and Prejudice against the Established Church. They were indeed *severely* dealt with, imprisoned, pilloried, and cropped; but *no Manner* of Rigour was executed 'till all *gentle* Methods proved ineffectual. They were first gently reprehended; but they were incorrigible

* Lord Clarendon's History of England, Vol. I. pag. 102.
† The Life of Archbishop Williams, by Bp. Hacket, Part. I. p. 64.
§ *Ibid.* Part. II. p. 65. *l* Fol.

corrigible, being Men (as Lord CLARENDON says) of no Virtue or Merit, though the Puritans reckon them as so many eminent Confessors for the Purity of Religion.

In the Year 1628 one LEIGHTON, a Scotsman, presented a Book unto the Parliament, called *Zion's Plea*, exciting them to grant out a Commission at large empowering all Manner of People to kill all the Bishops, to smite them under the fifth Rib, and to knock them on the Head without any Remorse, as being all of them Enemies to the Purity of the Gospel*. This was a favourite Treatise with our *Triumvirate*; and, together with their own infamous and insolent Libels, they took care to disperse *Zion's Plea* among Friends and Well-wishers to the Cause. This was the *main Reason* why these *Enthusiasts* were so roughly handled by the Government, to prevent a general Insurrection and the shedding of Sacerdotal Blood, though they afterwards brought their accursed Designs to bear.

BURTON, being disappointed of a Place at Court, and for several Misdemeanours having an Inhibition in Form sent him that he presume not to make his Appearance there any more, grew sour and discontented, turned Lecturer, and made his constant Theme to rail at the Bishops and the Constitution, being, as Lord CLARENDON speaks of him, 'endued with 'Malice and Boldness instead of Learning and any tolerable 'Parts.'——PRYN was a Barrister of *Lincoln*'s Inn, but herded chiefly with factious and hot-headed Divines. Among other Things he wrote a virulent Libel, containing sundry Incitements to stir up the People to Discontent, and that there was just Cause to lay violent Hands upon the Prince. He reviles all Decency and Ornaments of the Church, calls the Church-musick a *Bleating of Beasts*: "Choristers (says he) "bellow the Tenor as if they were Oxen, bark a Counter-"point like a Kennel of Dogs, roar a Treble as if they were "Bulls, and grunt out a Base like a Parcel of Hogs."—— BASTWICK, says Lord CLARENDON, was a half-witted, crack-brained Fellow, unknown to either of the Universities, or the College of Physicians. He also wrote a sorry Libel, where, among other paltry Stuff, he thus breaks loose: 'If 'we look upon the Lives, Actions, and Manners, of the 'Priests and Prelates of this Age, and see their Pride, Impu-'dence, Profaneness, Ungodliness, &c. one would think that 'Hell was broke loose, and that the Devils, in Surplices, in 'Hoods, in Rockets, and in *Four-square Cow-turds* upon their 'Heads, had come amongst us, and had *beshit* us all! Pho! 'how they stink! The Priests are *secundum ordinem diaboli*;

'a

* G. Geary's History of the Church of Britain, p. 300.

'a Generation of Vipers; proud, ungrateful, illiterate Asses. 'The Church is as full of Ceremonies as a Dog is full of Fleas. 'The Divine Service is a devised Service, a plaguy deal of 'Porridge*.' This is a Specimen of the cleanly Language of the top and most noted Puritans and Enthusiasts of that Age.

After two Years Confinement, in the very first Year of the Rebellion, they were recalled home from their several Imprisonments with great Triumph and Acclamations of the disaffected Party, 'some Thousands bearing them Company, and strewing Flowers and Herbs in the Way they passed, making great 'Noise and Expressions of Joy for their Deliverance and Return, and loudly exclaiming against the Bishops who had so 'cruelly persecuted such Godly Men;' on all which tumultuous Proceedings the Noble Historian so often quoted makes very just and severe Reflections.

I know very well that to recriminate does not justify; but one may venture to say, that, if any one, that the *then* prevailing Faction did brand by the Name of Malignants, had presumed to talk half so much against the *Directory* and *Covenant* as these Enthusiasts did against Monarchy and Episcopacy, he would have been prosecuted as a *Blasphemer*, and suffered without Mercy.

There are some, though perhaps over-nice Criticks, that observe that the Covenant does consist of 666 Words, which is the Number of the *Beast* in the *Revelation*: But, not to lay any great Stress upon that, most certain it is 'that the *Malice* 'of the *Faction*, and the *Miseries* of the *Clergy*, seem each 'to have been *perfected* in the exquisite and finished Wickedness of this *Covenant*; for no less than the *Loss* of all *Liberty* 'and *Livelihood*, and the dismal Cries of a starving and perishing Family, were the unavoidable Attendants of *refusing* it; 'nor was any Corner of the Kingdom exempted from the 'Calamities: And yet on no other Conditions could this be 'avoided than those of engaging their Souls in the most solemn 'Manner to God, that they would tear up the very Foundations of that Church which most of them did think in their 'Consciences to be the best and purest Church of CHRIST 'upon the Face of the Earth, and to which they were all 'bound and obliged by many Oaths and Subscriptions; and 'that they would destroy and extirpate that very *Order* from 'which they hold *their own*, and which far the greatest Part 'of them was fully persuaded to have been the *Institution of* 'Christ himself, either *immediately* by his own Hands, or *mediately*

* Vid. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 199, 200. Dr. Grey's Answer to Neal, p. 144, 145.

'*ately* by those of his Holy Apostles. It was likewise, in ef-
'fect, solemnly to declare, in the *Presence of God*, that they
'did renounce that *Allegiance to his Vicegerent* which, by his
'own Laws, by those of the Realm, and by many sacred and
'inviolable Oaths, they were indispensably bound to yield
'unto him; and in the same Manner to combine and in-
'volve their Souls in the foulest, blackest, and most exe-
'crable Rebellion that ever any Nation was cursed with.' *

Such was the Tyranny of those barbarous Times, that no Loyalist dared to keep a Private School for his Maintenance; should have no Manner of Employment either at home or abroad; which was intended to put such as refused to take the *Covenant*, and their Families, upon a Necessity of starving. Yea, it was not only enacted that they should have nothing to subsist upon, but also made penal, after the most ignominious Manner, if they went about to BEG.---The Consideration of which Barbarities made even Mr. PRYN himself to call this very severe and mercileſs Usage a *transcendent Barbarity and Impiety, as the* Pope *and* Jesuits *themselves could not have invented the like; and exceeded all Foreign Persecutions against Protestant Ministers in* Piedmont, Bohemia, *and* Silesia, *by Popish Princes*†. A savage Edict, in fact, was published by the *Tyrant* that usurped the Throne, *That the Episcopal Clergy should neither preach nor pray in Publick; nor baptise, nor marry, nor bury, nor teach School; no, nor so much as live in any Gentleman's House* who in mere Charity might be inclined to take them in from perishing. §

It would be an easy Matter to produce the Testimonies of some of the most eminent Writers of that Age, who were Eye-witnesses of those dreadful Calamities, such as Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE, Dr. SOUTH, Mr. YOUNGER‖, but more especially Lord CLARENDON. But let any unprejudiced Christian peruse the Account that Dr. WALKER has published of the *Sufferings of the Clergy*, (which is supported by the best Authority) and he will be convinced (if Matter of Fact will convince him) that the dreadful Effect of the *Covenant* is no whit inferior to that of the *Inquisition*: He will perceive that the *Scotch Covenant* and the *Spanish Inquisition* are Correlatives and Cousin-germans, though born in distant Climates; and that the Zeal and Fury of a *Northern* Enthusiast is altogether as keen and vindictive as that of a mere grave *Don* that basks in a warm Sun. This

* Dr. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part I. pag. 108, a.
† Ibid. pag. 194. b.
§ Dr. Grey's Examination of Neal, p. 168.
‖ Sir W. Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles, &c. p. 258. Dr. South's Sermons, Vol. I. p. 430. Younger's Brief View of the Troubles, &c. p. 77.

[illegible] of those dismal Days. The [illegible] to convince any Man a *Mi*[illegible] and *Oppressor* him. The [illegible] that would not subscribe this [illegible] were [illegible] persecuted, and tortured [illegible] Heretick by the Fa[illegible] that would not [illegible] new-invented [illegible] was the more [illegible] the Work of the Lord [illegible] that would [illegible] the poor L[illegible] and "[illegible] were [illegible] that they "[illegible] *Satan to fly*, "[illegible] this dismal Po"[illegible] Prisoners of Qu"[illegible] was Dr. STERN, after"[illegible] that they might hide one an"[illegible] that they flocked from one "[illegible] and certainly with "[illegible] the [illegible] *dagger-like*, "[illegible] them with fresh "[illegible] Galley-slaves to the "[illegible] was none that would "[illegible], that nor *dig*, "[illegible] *

The Covenant was [illegible] whereby the Ruin both of [illegible] It was enacted, by [illegible] 1643, "That "it should be [illegible] throughout the "Kingdom [illegible] *Wales*, by *All* above "the Age of [illegible] to be undone and ruined.—— [illegible] Conscience!—— But, blessed be God, at the Restoration, this Bond of Iniquity, the Idol of the Faction, was burnt in the Hands of the *Common Hangman*, in [illegible] Towns of the Kingdom, to the universal joy of all sincere Christians, more especially the [illegible] and persecuted Clergy.

To palliate these Severities, some well-meaning Men will argue that these cruel Persecutions [illegible] on the *profane* and rigid Conformists, but that the [illegible] Men of that Persuasion were [illegible] quite [illegible].—— But this is false.—— Archbishop Usher was a Man of exemplary Piety, as well as the Ornament of the Age for his profound Knowledge and Learning; and yet the *Presbyterians* seized upon * all

* Dr. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part II. p. 146, 147.

'all his Estate, deprived him of all his Benefices, and offered 'many rude Insults towards his Person. It's well known how 'the King, in consideration of the Bishop's great Merits, had 'given him large Preferments in *Ireland*; but, upon the break-'ing out of the *Irish* Rebellion, he suffered great Losses, inso-'much that he was obliged to sell his Plate and Jewels for a 'Subsistence; which occasioned the King to bestow on him 'the Bishoprick of *Carlisle*, the Revenues of which were soon 'after seized upon by an Order of Parliament.——It's no 'Wonder that the *Irish* Papists should seize upon the Estate of 'a Protestant Bishop; but that he should meet with worse 'Usage from the Hands of those who would be thought the 'only *true* Protestants cannot be accounted for.——Cardinal 'RICHLIEU shewed him many Marks of Kindness and Es-'teem, in Honour of his great Learning: But our Reforming 'Parliament were equally Enemies to his Learning and *Epis-'copal Dignity*; for they made an Order for the seizing of his 'Study of Books, and exposed them to Sale. And the *Godly 'Assembly* at *Westminster* professed that Respect for him as to 'petition for him to be turned out of their Synod; and so left 'him to the wide World, where he lived and died upon the 'Charity of *good Christians*.*'

Such was the barbarous Treatment that the learned and pious Archbishop USHER met at the Hands of the Zealots. Nor did that Man of *Moderation*, the Most Reverend Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS, Archbishop of *York*, fare any whit the better. He narrowly escaped being assassinated in his Bed at the first breaking out of the Rebellion, for no other Provocation given but the rebuking some of the Ringleaders for their Disloyalty to the King; but that was *Crime* enough in those *Days of Iniquity*. The Warning that was given him was very providential; and he had just Time to make his Escape (without so much as Change of Apparel, nor scarce any Money in his Purse) at a very unseasonable Hour of the Night, but as he thought for a while 'till the Times should mend. But, alas! the Faction prevailing, he never had the Sight of his Palace nor of his Diocese after, and was obliged for his better Safety to retire to his native Country of *Caernarvon*, in *North-Wales*. †

The Assassins, headed by young HOTHAM, Son to Sir JOHN H——, came according to Assignation, and beset the House before Day-break; and, finding the Archbishop had fled for his Life, HOTHAM fell into a great Rage, and with much ado

* Seditious Preachers, ungodly Teachers, p. 55, 56, cited by Dr. GREY's Examination of NEAL, p. 386.

† Bishop HACKET's Life of Archbishop WILLIAMS, Part II. p. 186, 7.

ſpared the Lives of thoſe that remained, but, contrary to the Articles of Surrender agreed upon, rifled the Houſe, and, as Biſhop HACKET obſerves, *nothing was ſaved from the Top to the Bottom from the Plunder of the Soldiers*--N. B. Sir JOHN HOTHAM, Governor of *Hull*, was the firſt that actually rebelled againſt the King; for he ſhut the Gates againſt him, and told him peremptorily that he was entruſted by the Parliament to keep the Garriſon, and ſo would give his Majeſty no Admittance. But, notwithſtanding the Father and Son continued for a while in the good Graces of the Parliament, as being very active in the Cauſe; yet it ſo came to paſs, they were ſuſpected to be ſomewhat remiſs in their Zeal, and they were both condemned to loſe their Heads on *Tower-hill* the Beginning of *January* 1644. The Royal Martyr hath the following Remark on this Tranſaction, *Sir* JOAN HOTHAM, *unreproached, unthreatened, uncurſed by any Language or ſecret Imprecation of mine, only blaſted with the Conſcience of his own Wickedneſs, and falling from one Inconſtancy to another, not long after pays his own and his eldeſt Son's Head, as Forfeitures of their Diſloyalty*, to thoſe Men from whom ſurely *he might have expected another Reward than thus to divide their Heads from their Bodies, whoſe Hearts with them were divided from their King.**

But to return to the Arch-biſhop. This Attempt upon his Life by HOTHAM was but a Prelude to the ſubſequent Perſecutions that he was continually harraſſed with 'till the Day of his Death. There was an Order of the Houſe of Commons, dated Feb. 18, 1642--3, which commanded all his Plate to be melted down for the Uſe of the Commonwealth †. It would be abundantly too tedious to make a Detail of all the Hardſhips and ſeveral Plunderings that his *Grace* underwent, (yet he bore all with a Fortitude and Magnanimity that was equal to his Great Soul) but from this brief Narrative it is even demonſtrable, "That *rigid Preſbyterians* treat all alike that do not "run full Lengths with them with the ſame vindictive Spirit, "without Regard either to Piety or Learning, or even Mode-"ration itſelf, when they have the *Power*, however uſurped, "in their own Hands." Yea CALVIN and KNOX (whom they glory in as the Patterns of true Reformation) were turbulent and bloody-minded Men, whereof there are too many Inſtances upon Record. And I could produce a notable Act of Severity done by the Orders of CALVIN at *Geneva*, but that would look ſomewhat like a Digreſſion.

I know it is objected by ſome, that the Archbiſhop did warp in

* *Finch's Baſilicon*, 1648. p. 49.

† Vid. Dr. *Walker's* Sufferings of the Clergy, Part II. p. 82.

in his Loyalty to the King. Mr. CALAMY ſpeaks in broad Terms, *that he took up Arms for the Parliament**. That a Man of his Character ſhould ſay ſo is no great Wonder; for he catches at any Thing (more eſpecially in a Man of Diſtinction and Eminence) that would any Way favour his beloved Cauſe, viz. to aſperſe the King, and to juſtify the Rebellion. Whatever the Voice of Scandal whiſpers in private, if it is to the Obloquy of Churchmen and a Slur on their Character, CALAMY takes the Hint, and publiſhes it as a Matter of Fact, without ever examining into the Bottom. Thus in the Caſe now before us, according to the uſual *Bitterneſs of his Spirit*, he trumps up a ſtale groundleſs Story, that the Archbiſhop took up Arms for the Parliament, or, in other Words, that he turned a *Rebel*.

Now, that which gave a Handle to this Scandal was this. The Archbiſhop kept the Caſtle of *Conway* in Garriſon for the King, where all or moſt of the loyal Gentlemen of that and the neighbouring Counties had ſent their Plate, Money, and Jewels, and whatever was valuable, as to a Place of the moſt Security from the Depredations of the Rebels. Now, in order to diſcharge this great Truſt that was repoſited in him both by his Majeſty and the neighbouring Gentlemen for ſecuring their moſt valuable Effects under his Protection, he declared that none ſhould have any Command in the Garriſon but *Cambro-Britons*, and ſuch of them too that he knew to be of known Fidelity, or, as Biſhop HACKET expreſſes the Matter in the Hiſtory of his Life, *he repulſed the* Engliſh *from being Chief Officers over the Old* Britons *in their own Soil*†.

This was the Origin of the Calumny raiſed againſt him; and Biſhop HACKET (in this Circumſtance) does highly commend and juſtify his Conduct, and adds, as a Corollary to the Whole, *from his Fidelity to his Majeſty he never went back an Inch*‖. Yea, and to put the Matter beyond all Diſpute, his Sacred Majeſty with his own Hand wrote him a Letter of Thanks, as being fully ſatisfied with and approving his Conduct in the ſaid Caſtle of *Aber-Conway*.——Now, it is evident that Mr. CALAMY had ſeen and peruſed Biſhop HACKET's Life of the Archbiſhop of *York*§, yet in his *ſly* Manner takes no Notice of this, and, to wound his Memory, chuſes to follow the natural Bent of his own Paſſion and Partiality.

To conclude this Chapter (ſpun out indeed to a greater Length than I at firſt intended) by what is here briefly related,

 (and

* Life of *Baxter*, p. 50.
† Part II. p. 209.
‖ *Ibid.* p. 220.
§ Life of *Baxter*, p. 70.

(and I think sufficiently proved) the rigid *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, &c. seem to me, upon a serious Review and Recollection, to be the most unreasonable Denomination of Christians in the World; for, when they get the Supreme Power into their own Hands, right or wrong they will allow of no Toleration or Liberty of Conscience to any that are of different Principles: Witness the Rigour in *Scotland*, the Severity in *New-England* by the Independents, but more especially during OLIVER's Usurpation, when not a little Attorney or a petty Schoolmaster, no, nor a Constable, was permitted to act, unless he did subscribe the *Covenant*, altho', I think, the *Papists* and *Jews* were connived at. But, when they are in Subjection and silenced by Authority, (as they were with all the Reason in the World for some Time after the *Restoration*) then they make the most terrible Clamour against Persecution. When *they* did persecute with all the Cruelties and barbarous Treatment that the utmost Rage and Fury could suggest, then it was to do *the Work of the Lord*, to punish the *Ungodly* and the *Malignants*, as the *Papists* in their *Inquisition* do punish *Hereticks*; and it is a Query, whether the *Inquisition* or the *Covenant* was the most destructive: But, when *they* suffer the least Encroachment upon their imaginary Privileges, viz, of making a *Schism* in the Church of CHRIST, then what a Torrent of Invective and Satyr is poured out against the higher Powers that lay a Restraint upon their Liberty! This is a Truth that they must acknowledge, let them be as captious as they will.

They pretend indeed that they tread in the Steps of LUTHER and CALVIN: But, if we may credit Modern History, their Pretence is false as to this material Point wherein they so much glory; for, as to the *Lutheran* Church, (which primarily appropriates to itself the Name of *Protestant*) *that*, as in *England*, is governed by Archbishops and Bishops, &c. and Divine Service regularly performed by a stated Liturgy, or *Common-prayer* Book.——The Religion of *Sweden* is established entirely on the *Lutheran* Reformation; and the Church is governed by a Metropolitan, the Archbishop of *Upsall*, and Ten Bishops; and under them are Eight Superintendents, who have all the Power of Bishops, and only want the Name; and over each Ten Churches is a Provost, or *Rural Dean*, with some Authority over the inferior Clergy*. The Kingdom of *Denmark* is also *Episcopal*, being governed in Church-affairs by a *Primate* and Six *Superintendents*, but who had rather be called *Bishops*; and, as Lord MOLESWORTH observes, every one of them takes it very kind to be complimented, *My Lord*. In these Two Pro-

* An Account of Sweden, Ch. v. p. 55, 56. Lond. 1694.

Proteſtant Kingdoms there is not a Diſſenter to be met with: They have no more Regard to the *Calviniſts* than to *Papiſts*, and no great Charity indeed to any that differ from them in Opinion, except the Church of *England*; and to that, as the above-named Author writeth, they are very kind, often ſaying that there is no eſſential Difference between it and their's, and wiſhing that there were an Union of them projected and perfected*.——Hence it is evident, that our *Preſbyterians* are in their Practice the very reverſe to that Plan of Church-government eſtabliſhed by the Firſt Proteſtant, the Great LUTHER: Nor are they the leſs oppoſite as to the Mode of Worſhip; for they have a Publick Liturgy and Church-muſick. I ſhall here tranſcribe a Part of that Account that the Reverend and Pious Mr. DORRINGTON has publiſhed of the Divine Service among them.

'The Service was begun by a *Reader*, a grave antient Man. 'He firſt read a ſhort Prayer; then he read ſeveral Chapters of 'the Old and New Teſtament, while the Congregation came 'together. When a good Number were aſſembled, they began 'to ſing, with the Organ, their Pſalms, and Hymns, and Spiri-'tual Songs. I obſerved many People, both Men and Women, 'fell in with the Singing, without uſing their Books, which they 'had before them, very often; and the Children, who ſat 'together, very readily found what was to ſing, though I ſaw 'it was taken out of ſeveral diſtant Places of their Books; 'which ſhews that they were very well acquainted with their '*Liturgy*. I perceived in one Place they ſung the Apoſtles' 'Creed: This Singing took up the greateſt Part of the Time 'of their Aſſembly.

'They all ſung with the moſt perfect Concord with the 'Organ, which was very pleaſant; and, which was more 'pleaſant, they did it with great Serioufneſs and Devotion.—— 'As ſoon as they were entered in their Singing, they appeared 'as if the whole Soul was engaged, and elevated above the 'vain World, as if they were all Thoughts and Devotion.—— 'This Singing was twice interrupted for a little Space; at 'which Times the Miniſter went from his Pew by the Pulpit, 'and ſtood before the Communion-table with his Face towards 'the People, and read firſt the Goſpel, and then the Epiſtle, 'for the Day. After they had ſpent a good while in theſe 'Devotions they ceaſed, and the Miniſter aſcended the Pulpit, 'where he prayed and preached. The Subject of his Preaching 'was, an Explication of the Goſpel for the Day.——When 'he

* Account of Denmark, Ch. xvi. p. 251, 253. Lond. 1694.

'he concluded, the People sung again for a while, and then 'were dismissed with a Blessing*.'

Mr. DORRINGTON saith further on this Subject, that in the Afternoon he had some Conversation with the Minister that preached, and, among other Discourse, 'That he expressed a 'great Veneration and Esteem for the Church of *England*; 'that he positively condemned those of our Nation who separate so needlesly from a Church so wisely and justly reformed; but he spoke this with a Spirit of Compassion and 'Tenderness becoming a Christian; but he heartily lamented 'it, as a Thing of mighty Prejudice to the Progress and 'Prosperity of the *Reformation*.'——N. B. Mr. DORRINGTON was brought up in the Way of *Schism*, (as he acknowledges himself in his Epistle Dedicatory to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*) and declares, *That he entered the Church of God upon a deliberate Consideration, and with a full Conviction of Conscience that it was his indispensible Duty so to do.* If I am rightly informed, the University of *Oxford* conferred a *Master of Arts'* Degree upon him, since his Conformity, for some important Services he has done the Church.

This is the Mode of Worship among the *Lutherans*: That of the *Calvinists* beyond Sea I shall give in the Words of the learned Physician Dr. NORTHLEIGH. 'Though our Dissenters in *England*, says he, from an habituated Averseness 'more than any reasonable Dislike, declaim against the Vanity 'of our Church-musick, and make but Bagpipes of such Instruments as the Psalmist was wont to praise God with in 'his Holiness, I could not but observe, that in all this Country, [*United Netherlands*] where doubtless the *Presbyterian* '*Discipline* (if any such were intended by CALVIN) must be 'allowed to obtain, there is not a Church of any Note that 'has not One or Two good Lofts and *Organs* in it, and no 'less than Three or Four in this of *Harlem*†.' And the above-mentioned Mr. DORRINGTON assures us, 'That all the *Cal*-'*vinists* beyond Sea have Composed Forms for Publick Prayer, 'before and after Sermon, and for the Administration of the 'Sacraments, and condemn such of our Dissenters who will 'have this unlawful§.'

The established Religion of *Prussia* is the Reform of CALVIN. As to Church-government, I am not certain whether they have any Degree of Superiority and Superintendents or no. CHARLES-LEWIS Baron POLLNITZ informs us, that when

* A Journey through Germany in the Year 1698, p. 348, &c.
† Northleigh's Voyage through Europe, p. 45.
§ Dorrington, p. 225.

when that Sovereign *Dutchy* was erected into a Kingdom, *Anno* 1700, FREDERICK-WILLIAM the Elector, in order to grace that grand and auguſt Ceremony, had Two Biſhops conſecrated on that Occaſion, who, in their Epiſcopal Robes, did, by a ſet Compoſure, perform the Coronation-ſolemnity, aſſiſted by Six Preſbyters, Three *Calviniſts*, and Three *Lutherans**.—— By this it is evident, beyond all Diſpute, (if we may credit Matter of Fact) that the *Engliſh* Puritans, and Diſſenters of all Denominations, do but impoſe upon the World when they alledge, in the Juſtification of their *Schiſm*, that they tread in the Footſteps of the firſt Reformers, LUTHER and CALVIN: The rigid Doctrine of the latter they do indeed for the moſt part ſtick cloſe unto, (and ſo do ſome of the Epiſcopal Church) yet they diſapprove of a Publick Form of Prayer, and Church-Muſick, as ſinful Terms of Communion.

Now, after all that has been ſaid on this Subject, it may be objected, To what Purpoſe is all this Account of the Rebel Preſbyterians and other Sectaries of the laſt Century? I anſwer, Very much and altogether to the Purpoſe, ſince Enthuſiaſm was then the Epidemick Diſtemper of the Nation, that brought ſuch a Scandal upon it. That was the Sentiment of Biſhop BURNET, as was hinted before: Theſe are the Sentiments of many other eminent Divines; and that indeed is the beſt Apology they can make to palliate their Rebellion and Regicide. The Head of the Faction, OLIVER himſelf, was, in the Judgment of Biſhop BURNET, a complete Diſſembler and *Enthuſiaſt*.—— Or, if you will have his Character from Biſhop HACKET, he tells us, *That he was an Imp of* Satan, *compounded of all Vice and Violence*; *That he regarded neither* Parliament *nor* Patents, *much leſs any* Canons *of the* Church, *no, nor the* Scriptures *of* God, *in compariſon of ſome* new Light *ſhining in the Lantern of his own Head*†. Or, if you will have his Character in the Words of Lord CLARENDON, though his Lordſhip grants that he had ſome good Qualities, yet that *he was guilty of many Crimes againſt which Damnation is denounced, and for which Hell-Fire is prepared*; *and he will be looked upon by Poſterity as a* brave wicked Man§.——But, in his latter Days, *Conſcience*, though it was *ſeared with a hot Iron* for the moſt Part of his Life, began now and then to recoil and ſtartle at the Recollection of the many horrid Villainies that he has perpetrated ever ſince he has commenced a Rebel; and his Agonies were reſtleſs, and, as it were, continually upon the Rack, ever ſince a Book was publiſhed,

* Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 32. Lond. 1738.
† Life of Archbiſhop Williams, Part II. p. 223.
§ Vol. III. p. 653.

lished, that was intitled ‘ *Killing no Murther*, wherein it was ‘ argued that it was a *most lawful, just, necessary, and honourable* ‘ *Act to kill the Usurper*. Whoever was the Author, it scared ‘ OLIVER almost out of his Wits. This made him very suspi- ‘ cious and fearful, so that he began to dread every Person, or ‘ strange Face, he saw, (whom he would anxiously and intently ‘ view) for an *Assassin*; that Book continually running in his ‘ Mind. It was his constant Custom to shift and change his ‘ Lodging, to which he passed through 20 several Locks, and ‘ out of which he had Four or Five Ways, to avoid Pursuit*.’— Thus, as when a fierce Beast of Prey is sorely wounded in his Vitals, he tosses, and flings, and bounces, 'till Nature is quite spent, and then expires, so the bloody Tyrant (who sometimes in his Fury gave no Quarter † to Man, Woman, or Child) continued ever restless in his Mind all the short Remainder of his Life afterwards, and died a raving Enthusiast.

In a word, the general Character of that Period, viz. since the Rebellion prevailed and grew rampant, to the Time of the *Restoration*, seems to be one continued Scene of Enthusiasm, of pretended Sanctity and open Wickedness. And it must be owned, that when at last, by the good Providence of God, the Nation was freed from that general Captivity under which it groaned for so many Years, instead of rending a due Tribute of Praise and Thanksgiving to the Almighty for such a Deliverance, in a great measure a Dissoluteness of Manners and Profaneness did ensue, following the Example of a loose and debauched Court and Prince; tho' it must be acknowledged that it was in some Respects the *Augustan* Age, more especially as to the Purity of the *English* Tongue, and that some of the most eminent Divines were promoted to the highest Dignities in the Church.

P. S. In the Year 1632 the learned Antiquarian, Sir HENRY SPELMAN has wrote a notable Book which he calls, *The History and Fate of Sacrilege*, which (by some Accident or other) was delayed to be published 'till the Year 1698. In this Treatise he produces historically a great many Instances thro' the several Ages of the World (more particularly of the Christian Church) of remarkable Judgments that fell on those that dealed and trafficked in those Things that were once consecrated to the Worship and Service of God. There were a great many such in

* *Geary*'s History of the Church of Britain, p. 360.

† Thus he did at *Tredagh*, in *Ireland*: He put every Man, Governor, Officer, and Soldier, to the Sword, and executed all Manner of Cruelty: All the Citizens, Man, Woman, and Child, were destroyed without Mercy; and Four Officers of Distinction, that lay concealed, when discovered Five Days after, were butchered in cold Blood.——*Clarendon*'s History, &c. Vol. III. p. 341.

in the Days of OLIVER, more eſpecially diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Sequeſtrators*. Let the Qualification of an Incumbent of a *Living* be as *exemplary* as that of an *Apoſtle*, yet, if he would not ſubſcribe the *Covenant*, he was convened before a Committee, and then inevitably ejected as a *Malignant*. Then an ignorant Fellow, very often a mean and rude Mechanick, would be intruded in his Place, the Tythe ſequeſtered, ſome Portion of it allowed to the Intruder, and the reſt pocketed by the *Sequeſtrators*, who got large Eſtates by this iniquitous Practice, but more eſpecially from the great Revenues of the Biſhops and the Dignitaries of the Church, which were purchaſed by Paraſites and Favourites at a cheap and eaſy Rate. It is recorded by Mr. CALAMY, that Dr. BURGESS laid out all his Fortune in Biſhops' Land, and laments that all was loſt at the Reſtoration. Now, as the above-mentioned great Antiquarian does juſtly remark that thoſe Eſtates, that were got by Sacrilege, did in a ſhort Time dwindle away by ſome ſecret Judgment, and were entirely blaſted; ſo it is no leſs viſible, that thoſe Preſbyterian Dealers in Sacrilege are either extinct, or their Eſtates ſo purchaſed are ſquandered, and the Survivors reduced to Beggary. This is a common Obſervation in that Part of *South-Wales* that my Lot is fallen into.

Yea, it is further obſerved by that Great Man, Sir HENRY SPELMAN, that the unjuſt with-holding the Tythe from the legal Incumbent is very often attended by a Judgment from above. So it is ſtill a general Remark to this very Day, (for the ſame Cauſes produce the ſame Effects) that, when ſome Great Families, *i. e.* Great in the Eye of the Vulgar, out of Avarice or Penury, or any pretended Cauſe, do ſtop the Payment of the legal Dues which the Miniſter has a Right to, a ſecret Judgment, as a Curſe from Heaven, does blaſt their *Eſtates* and *Credit* in the World. And it is ſtill yet a further Remark, that, as none but mere Enthuſiaſts and Hypocrites thus trafficked in Sacrilege in the Time of the Great Rebellion, ſo none but Enthuſiaſts and Methodiſts, and thoſe of an abandoned Character, do purſue the ſame deſtructive Courſe, more deſtructive to themſelves in the End than to thoſe they injure.

CHAP. V.

Of the National Phrenzy that possessed both Old *and* New England *for a Season, in prosecuting, torturing, and executing so many Men and Women, (more especially the Aged and Decrepid of the latter Sex) for the supposed Crime of* Witchcraft.

I MUST here make a somewhat retrograde Motion, and step a little backwards to the Reign of K. JAMES the First. There passed in this Kingdom *Three* Acts of Parliament against *Witches*, the 1st in the 33d Year of K. HENRY VIII. the 2d in the 5th of Q. ELIZABETH, and the 3d and last in the first Year of the Reign of K. JAMES I. which is the only Statute now in Force, if not repealed.

K. JAMES was a weak Prince, 'tis true, yet of good natural Parts, and had a Smattering of Learning. But he had the Misfortune to be engaged in dark and difficult Subjects in his younger Years. Before he was 20 he ventured to interpret the *Revelation*: A forward Youth! About the 25th Year of his Age he wrote his *Demonology*, or the Doctrine of Devils and Witchcraft: And his Accession to the Crown of *England* a few Years after made the People very fond to read and admire the King's Book upon so curious a Subject, which in all Probability induced the Parliament, in the very first Year of his Reign, to enact a more rigorous Statute against Witches than was before, and make it Felony. So that K. JAMES seems to be the first Mover and Director in the Change of the Statute. And the Translation of the Bible being made soon after hath received some Phrases that favour the vulgar Notions more than the old Translation, as might be instanced in several Particulars *. K. JAMES himself in his advanced Years grew more sober and moderate about these Notions. But, when Laws and Translations are fixed, 'tis a difficult Thing to change them.

There were executed upon this Statute some Thousands of both Sexes (of old Women especially) in *England* and *Scotland* since the first enacting thereof to the Year 1682, when Three Women were hanged at *Exeter*; and these were the last in *England* that suffered on account of Witchcraft. I do not find that many were prosecuted and put to Death in the Reign of K. JAMES; but, at the breaking out of the *Great Rebellion* against his Son and Successor, and in all OLIVER's Usurpation, they went

* Dr. *Hutchinson's* Historical Essay upon Witchcraft, Ch. xiv. p. 217, &c.

went to work with a Vengeance, and that both in *Old* and *New England*.

The different Notions about Witchcraft have divided the World into two Parties in this and other Nations; one Party, with abundant Reason, suspending their Belief of *all that Power* commonly ascribed unto Witches in doing such extraordinary Feats: The other Side believes all, and looks upon it as an Argument of greater Faith and closer Adherence to the Holy Scripture, and, without the least Allowance of Charity, reckons the opposite Party as so many Atheists, Sadducees, and Infidels; but it admits of no Dispute that there have been several Cheats and Impostures, and detected as such in Persons that pretended to be bewitched; and it is as doubtless also, that the greatest Champions that have blotted Paper, to prove the Reality of Witchcraft, have, in a blind and enthusiastick Zeal, but too often shed Abundance of innocent Blood, under Pretence of doing the Work of the Lord.

I shall not meddle with the Arguments on either Side, but confine myself to the *Diagnosticks*, i.e. the Symptoms, Marks, and Manner of Tryal, whereby, in the last Century, they pretended to discover Sorcery and Witchcraft; which ridiculous Practice (tho' fatal to the poor Sufferers) could have no Cloak to palliate, but a wrong Zeal, and an enthusiastick Noddle.

"When any old Woman, *&c.* was suspected of Witchcraft, "she was placed in the Middle of a Room upon a Stool or "Table, cross-legged, or in some other uneasy Posture, to "which, if she submitted not, she is then bound with Cords. "There is she watched and kept without Meat or Sleep for "the Space of 24 Hours; for they say within that Time they "shall see her *Imps* come and suck. A little Hole is likewise "made in the Door for the Imps to come in at; and, lest they "should come in some less discernable Shape, they that watch "are taught to be ever and anon sweeping the Room, and, if "they see any Spiders or Flies, to kill them, and, if they can-"not kill them, then they may be sure they are her Imps *." This cruel Treatment and barbarous Way of proceeding must needs be an exceeding great Torture. To sit upon a Board with the Legs tied a-cross must be as painful as riding upon the Wooden Horse; and thus to continue 24 Hours without either Sleep or Sustenance made the poor Creatures weary of Life, and in the Extremity of Pain to confess any Thing, tho' ever so innocent, in hopes of a present Relief.

Another Method to extort Confession was keeping one awake for several Days and Nights without any Intermission, 'till, Na-

* Dr. *Hutchinson*'s Historical Essay upon Witchcraft, p. 83.

ture being quite ſpent, the poor harraſſed Creature ſpeaks any Thing that his inhuman Tormentors would ſuggeſt. Thus dealt the *Barbarians* with the venerable Mr. LOWES, a very aged *Clergyman*, who had been 50 Years *Vicar* of *Brandeſton*, in the County of *Suffolk*. He having incurred the Diſpleaſure of ſome of the Enthuſiaſtick Zealots of thoſe Days, they faſten on him the high Crime of Sorcery. Being apprehended, (being then Four-ſcore Years of Age, and very infirm) they firſt put him to the then uſual Tryal of *Swimming*; and being convict by that, they kept him awake for ſeveral Days and Nights without any Reſpite, and ran him backward and forward about the Room until he was out of Breath; then they reſted a little, (when tired themſelves) and then at him again. And this they did for two or three Days and Nights ſucceſſively, 'till they made the little Remainder of his Life a Burthen to him, as any one may judge by ſuch execrable Uſage. By this Barbarity they extorted a Confeſſion from him, when he was not ſenſible of what he ſaid or did, Nature being quite ſpent; and then in Triumph they led him to Execution, and he was hanged in the Year 1646.

The cenſorious Mr. BAXTER, as his Manner is, makes very invidious Reflections on this poor Gentleman's Sufferings; for, tho' he did in general ſpirit on theſe Proſecutions, yet, in the hard Fate of this *Epiſcopal* Divine, he ſeems more than ordinarily to glory. "Among the reſt (ſays he) an old *reading* Parſon, named LOWES, was one that was hanged, who confeſſed that he had Two Imps, that one of them was always putting him on doing Miſchief, and he being near the Sea, as he ſaw a Ship under Sail, it moved him to ſend him to ſink the Ship, and he conſented, and ſaw the Ship ſink before him*." Theſe are his own Words: And who after reading this but muſt acknowledge that his Malice had got the Maſtery over his Reaſon? Firſt he ſhews his Teeth by calling him a *Reading Parſon* in diſtinct Characters; that is, I ſuppoſe, becauſe of his reading the *Common Prayer*, or reading his Sermons, or a Homily, either of which was the Characteriſtick of a Malignant in thoſe Days of Anarchy.——Then he tells the moſt Romantick Story that ever filled a Legend, that an Imp that he kept aſked Leave to ſink a Ship, which by the Parſon's Conſent it immediately performed. Now we may well ſuppoſe that in this Ship were a good Number of People about their lawful Occaſions, and many Families at Land depending upon it for their Livelihood. And can any Man in his Senſes believe (but R. BAXTER, and Men of the ſame gloomy Temper with himſelf) that God Almighty would ſuffer ſo many Souls to periſh at the Humour of an

* *Baxter*'s Certainty of the World of Spirits, p. 52.

an Imp, if there is or was ſuch a Creature *in Rerum Natura!* They pretended it was ſomething in the Shape of a Rat, a Mole, a Toad, a Spider, a Fly, or whatever Form the Spirit did aſſume, which the Witches kept in private to execute their Commands. As to what he ſays to the old Clergyman's Confeſſion, that is accounted for already; and, when out of the mercileſs Hands of his Tormentors, he maintained his Innocency to the laſt Moments of his Life.

Another Way of diſcovering Witchcraft was by ſearching every Part of the Body for *Teats*, and ſome *Special Marks*. Now the firſt of theſe may very naturally be accounted for, as being a Species of the *Verrucæ penſiles*, or Warts which in old Age grow large and pendulous; and the other, to be nothing elſe but either ſcorbutick Spots, or a Mole. And 'tis a hard Caſe that a Man ſhould be judged a Wizard, and ſuffer an ignominious Death, for having ſuch a Mark upon his Skin.—— But then, to make ſure Work of it, if none of theſe Marks did appear, the *dernier Reſort* was that of *Swimming*. The Perſon to be ſwam had his or her Thumbs and Toes tied cloſe by a Cord; and then a Rope being faſtened about the Middle of the ſuppoſed Wizard or Witch, one End of the Rope is held by ſome Man on one Side of the River, and the other End by another Man on the other Side; and if the ſuſpected Perſon did ſwim, that was a preſumptive Proof of his or her being a Wizard or a Witch; but, if he or ſhe did ſink, then the Conſequence *only* was drowning. And K. JAMES (amongſt his other Impertinences) was ſo ſilly as to pretend to give a Reaſon for this, ſuch as it is, *That, as ſuch Perſons have renounced their Baptiſm by Water, ſo the Water refuſes to receive them.* Whereas any one in his right Senſes may eaſily perceive, that this depended entirely on the Management of the Rope-pullers; for, if the Rope was held tight, then the unhappy Perſon would be kept afloat, and ſo reſerved to a more cruel Fate, to be burnt or hanged; but, if the Rope was ſlackened, then the poor Wretch would ſink and be drowned.

There were in thoſe Days of Iniquity, *viz.* in the Years 1644, 45, *&c.* Enthuſiaſtick Vagrants that ſtrolled about the Country from one Place to another, called *Witch-finders*, the Principal of which Gang was one MATTHEW HOPKINS, of *Mainingtree*, in *Eſſex*. Now, if any one had a Grudge againſt his Neighbour, it was only giving a Reward to the *Witch-finder*, and he would be ſearched for Teats, *&c.* and, if no one of their Symptoms did ſhew a ſufficient Evidence, then the laſt Proof was *Swimming*. And it is very remarkable, that, after this infamous Zealot, MAT. HOPKINS, had practiſed his Art for ſo

many

many Years, to the Destruction of so many innocent People, he at last became suspected of Witchcraft himself, and was put to the same Tryal as he put others to, of tying his Thumbs and Toes, and tossed into a Pool, where he swam too, which was taken for a sufficient Proof; and he was accordingly condemned and advanced to the Gallows, as he well deserved it. To this the ingenious Mr. BUTLER, Author of *Hudibras*, does allude,

Hath not this present Parliament
A Ledger to the Devil sent,
Fully impower'd to treat about
Finding revolted Witches out?
And has not he within a Year
Hang'd Three-score of them in one Shire?
Some only for not being drown'd,
And some for sitting above Ground
Whole Nights and Days upon their Breeches,
And feeling Pain, were hang'd for Witches;
And some, for putting knavish Tricks
Upon Green Geese and Turkey Chicks,
Or Pigs, that suddenly deceas'd
Of Griefs unnat'ral, as he guess'd
Who after prov'd himself a Witch,
And made a Rod for his own Breech.

HUDIB. Part II. Canto III.

The Prosecution in *New-England* was carried on with a more vehement Zeal yet, being instigated thereto chiefly by the Writing of old Mr. COTTON MATHER. And it is observable, that C. M. jun. no longer since than the Year 1696, wrote a Book about Witches, and sent it over to *England* to be printed; and Mr. BAXTER recommended it by a Preface. And, the Year after, Mr. B. wrote another of his own on the same Subject; and, to retaliate the Kindness, Mr. MATHER recommended his, and dispersed it over the Province, with this Character, (to use his own Phrase) as a Book *ungainsayable*.

Upon this there were Executions upon Executions; and, if this Spirit of Infatuation, that was worked into a new Ferment by the Leaven of those Books, had raged some Time longer, the whole Province might have been near depopulated. Whole Families of the better Sort fled for their Lives as from the Plague. One of their *Ministers* was hanged, who, upon the Ladder, protested his Innocence in the most solemn Manner. No Body's Life was safe during the too fatal Influence of this Spiritual Phrenzy. It would be abundantly too tedious to enumerate Particulars;

ticulars; but after a Season this Ferment did subside, and they gradually came to a more sober and thinking Temper, and at length a Stop was put to further Prosecutions after a long and general Butchery.*

I do not deny there may be real Witches in the common Acceptation of the Word, *i. e.* such as have a Communication with evil Spirits, and deserve to be capitally punished. But, of the many Hundreds, nay Thousands, that were executed upon the Statute in *Old* and *New-England* and *Scotland*, few, very few, are judged, by grave and impartial Men, that have made a sober Enquiry into these Matters, guilty of the Crime laid to their Charge, *i. e.* of a Compact or Covenant with the Devil, unless it be the afore-mentioned Major WEYER, that was executed in *Scotland* in 1670, and a Woman, of *Huntingdonshire* in *New-England*, whose Story is as followeth.

"At St. *Ives* in *Huntingdonshire* (says the Author of the "*Scourge*) lived a Woman, not many Years ago, whose Name "I do not well remember, tho' many in that Place very well "do. She was one of those who, for Distinction, were called "*Puritans*, a great Follower of the Presbyterian Doctrine, a "constant Frequenter of Godly Meetings and Religious Exer-"cises. This Woman came to be so eminent, especially in "the *Gift of Prayer*, that she was generally admired and looked "upon as a Saint of the first Magnitude. The Noise of her "Fame, and the Boasts of her Party, brought many Ministers "in the adjacent Countries to hear her pray; which she did in "that ravishing Manner, that they never parted from her "without an Excess of Admiration and Astonishment. After "some Time, for what Reason I am not able to determine, this "holy Sister went over to *New-England*, as about the same Time "many others did for Liberty of Conscience. For a while she "was there in the greatest Esteem and Height of Reputation: "But the Devil owed her a Shame; and she became at last sus-"pected and accused for a Witch, and, being brought to a "Tryal, confessed her Guilt, and that her Contract with the "Devil was, *That, in lieu of her Soul, which she made over to "him, he should assist her with the Gift of Extempore Prayer.* "After which Confession, Sentence passed upon her, and she was "accordingly executed as a most abominable Sorceress."†

As to the Scripture Notion of a Witch, some very learned and able Criticks do judge, that the Hebrew Word, which in our common Bibles is translated a *Witch*, might as well be rendered a

* Vide *C. Mather*'s History of *New-England*, Lib. vi. p. 82. and Dr. *Hutchinson*'s Hist. Essay, Chap. v. p. 95, *&c.*

† Scourge, No. xiii. anno 1717.

a *Ventriloquist*, and is so rendered by some very able Divines in other Languages. Yet I do not deny there may be *Witches* in the common Acceptation of the Word, *i. e.* such an one that has a Communication with evil Spirits, or has covenanted with the Devil.

To conclude, Witches are such (as some interpret the Hebrew Word) as do Mischief unto Men and Beasts by evil Arts, either by the Assistance of some familiar Spirit, or by Enchantments and Magical Spells: Or, 2dly, *Ventriloquists*, that speak out of the Belly, which to the Standers-by seemed as if the Person was possessed and supernatural, tho' generally carried on by Art and Contrivance, as Naturalists may well account for: [The *Pythoness*, or *Damsel possessed with a Spirit of Divination*, (mentioned *Acts* xvi. 16) is supposed, by some very able Commentators on the Place, to be a *Ventriloquist*.] Or, 3dly, those that depended on the Influence of any Star or Planet to do Good or Evil by a particular Invocation of that Star or Planet. The Scope of the Law being that all Idolatry should be abolished, and that no Virtue should be ascribed to any Star of doing Good or Hurt to Men, (which Opinion led Men to their Worship) it necessarily followed that all Witches and Wizards should be put to Death, because they were Idolaters, tho' after a peculiar and different Way from that wherein the Vulgar worshipped Idols. ——*Bishop* Patrick *on* Exod. xxii. 18. *Lev.* xix. 31.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Quakers. *Their* Rise. G. FOX *and* J. NAYLOR. *The horrid Blasphemies of both. Some of the first* Quakers *possessed. Their going naked in publick Places. The Emissaries of* Rome *first set up this growing Sect.*

THE closer any *National* Church follows the Rule of Faith contained in Holy Scripture, and the nearer Approaches it makes to the Platform of the Primitive Times in Discipline, Faith, and Practice, so much the more pure and orthodox and Apostolical it is, as a Copy in the Hands of a good Artist bears a nigh Resemblance to the Original. Now, *Quakerism* is the very Reverse of this, as a Glass so contrived as to represent all Objects topsy-turvy. It cancels the *positive* Ordinances of JESUS CHRIST, and lays them aside as superfluous, and daringly censures the first Ages of the Church next after the Apostles to be nothing else but the Days of Darkness and Ignorance.

There is, indeed, a vast Difference, yea, a direct Opposition and Contrariety, between the Faith and Practice of the Church of Christ in all Ages and that of the upstart Sect of the *Quakers*. The Church of Christ, ever since its first Institution, set apart a peculiar Order of Men, designed for the Sacred Ministry, whether Bishops, Presbyters, or Deacons, by Prayer and solemn Imposition of Hands. The *Quakers* have no Ordination at all of any Kind: Any talkative Brother, that has a Mind to shew his Parts, may hold-forth 'till he is tired; yea, any prating Sister, that is inclined to be sonorous, may do the same; tho' sometimes at a Publick Meeting they are all silent. The Church of Christ in all Ages admitted Proselytes into Church-Membership by Water-baptism in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in Obedience to our Saviour's Command. The *Quakers* altogether reject Water-baptism, and neither baptize the Adult or Infants. The Church of Christ in every Age did partake of Bread and Wine, consecrated in a solemn Manner for that Use, in commemoration of the Passion of Christ, in Obedience to his Command, *Do this in Remembrance of me*. The *Quakers* altogether reject this Holy Institution of our Lord as too gross and carnal, yea, and call it by Names too shocking here to be repeated. The Church of Christ, more especially such Members of it as have any Feeling or lively Sense of Religion, do make *Family-Devotion* a necessary Part of Worship; and

the Publick Service does by no means superfede that in Private. This Duty the Quakers wholly lay aside, and commonly ridicule those that are conscientious in performing it. Nor, indeed, do the Quakers in their publick Meetings ever make Confession of Sin, or ask the Forgiveness of it: Such is their vain and high Conceit of their *Sinless Perfection!*

This is a Truth so notorious, insomuch that several well-meaning People, having been seduced by their Artifice to join with them in not hearing Confession of Sin and asking Forgiveness of it for some Years successively, have at length, by cool Reflection on the Case, *came to themselves* again, recover, and escape out of the Snare. And it is a known Observation, that no *Quaker* was ever known to die with a *Lord have Mercy upon him* in his Mouth. And a *Quaker* is scarce ever known either to ask a *Blessing* upon his Food before he takes it, or return *Thanks* for it after he has done; but they hastily fall to it like so many Brutes. Several other Particulars might be instanced, which here for Brevity's Sake are omitted.

Now, herein lies the Quaker's Enthusiasm, that being but a novel Sect, sprung up no longer since than the Year 1650, they impiously pretend to be wiser than all Antiquity, than all the purest Ages of Christianity, when, if ever, the Gospel Doctrine flourished in its Native Purity, without any Dross of Superstition; yet, according to those People, all was Darkness 'till the Rise of G. Fox. *The Principle of the Quakers is all Enthusiasm*, says the learned and pious Mr. LESLY; *there never was any Enthusiasm in the World that exceeded it.*——Now, which is the more eligible, the Doctrine of JESUS CHRIST, his Apostles, and the Apostolical Ages, or the Doctrine of GEORGE FOX, in direct Opposition to the same? Which is the safest Path for a Christian to tread in? If the former Doctrine be true and genuine, (as undoubtedly it is) then, by necessary Consequence, the latter must be false and spurious.

Who can refrain from Indignation (says the above most excellent Writer) to see such a conceited, senseless, most ignorant, and blasphemous Crew, destitute of common Modesty, or Shame, gravely set up themselves above all the glorious Lights of the Church, Confessors, and Martyrs, ever since the Apostles, whom they damn as Apostates, as their execrable Father, G. Fox, said in *his Great Mystery*, p. 89, "That the *Quakers* have a Spirit given them beyond all the Forefathers since "the Days of the Apostles." * And THOMAS ELLWOOD complains of G. KEITH, that he has done the *Quakers* wrong, *viz.* that, in comparing the Books of *Friends* to the Books of them

* Satan disrobed, p. 206. Fol. Ed. Lond. 1721.

them called the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, he has not done as a *Friend* and a *Brother*, but as an Enemy, in supposing *Friends'* Books to have been written by no better Guidance, or clearer Sight, than their's who lived and wrote in those *dark Times*.

Now, that the Quakers had no Being or Existence in any Part of the Christian World beyond the said *Æra* of 1650 is acknowledged by their own most noted Writers. JOSEPH WYETH, in his Answer to the *Snake*, makes this Confession, *At the first of the War, which was* 1642, (as he expresses it) *there was no such Thing as a Quaker spoke of or heard of* *. This JOSEPH, 'tis true, was but a Journeymen Linen-draper, yet all the Quakers' Strength was exerted in what they put forth under his Name. And it is a stated Rule among them to let no Book of their's be printed 'till it has undergone the Censure, and obtained the Approbation, of their second Day's Meeting, which consists only of their Preachers, or Holders-forth. To the same Effect writes ED. BURROUGHS in his Preface to G. FOX *his Great Mystery*, printed in 1659.

Having thus fixed the Origin of Quakerism, which was at a Time (the Church being pulled down) when the vilest and most monstrous and numerous Spawn of multifarious Sects, that ever the bottomless Pit belched out, broke loose among us, as a just Punishment of Schism and Rebellion, I shall now give a more particular Character of the two first Champions that were the Master-builders of this *Babel*; and they were GEORGE FOX and JAMES NAYLOR.

This G. FOX was a poor Mechanick, of so dull and heavy Parts, yet fierce and sullen, that he was scarce Master of Common Sense, and so destitute of Erudition, that he could scarce write, 'tho' his *Name* is set to Abundance of *Quaker-books*. He was at first a Herding-boy to look after Cattle, and then he got acquainted with one JOHN HINKS, another Shepherd, who, in the Beginning of the Rebellion, had imbibed the mad Principles of a Sect called *Ranters*, and made G. FOX, as they herded together, a Proselyte to his wild Opinions.

These *Ranters* allowed themselves in all manner of Excesses which their carnal Appetites prompted them to, and impiously pretended they committed all their wicked Actions for the Honour of God, whose Grace, as they maintained, was more illustrated in pardoning the Sins of the Elect, for which he would damn other Men; that the greater their Sins were, the greater was God's Glory in pardoning them; that God did not take Notice of the outward Actions of his chosen Servants, he only looked upon the Heart; finally, that to the Pure all is pure. As

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* Switch, Sect. xvi. p. 337.

blasphemous and as impious as this Doctrine is, yet it was in effect espoused and vindicated by Men of great Names, that from *Presbyterians* had warped into *Antinomianism*, such as VINCENT, CRISP, JACOMB, *&c.* For they held and taught, "That "CHRIST in our Stead had so fulfilled the whole Law as to "merit Heaven for the most profligate and wicked Sinner, con-"tinuing as such; that Moral Virtues are Signs of a carnal "Mind estranged from the true Design of Christianity, and "that Religion consisted chiefly in loving of CHRIST, but not "in keeping his Commandments*." They then invented a Sort of amorous Divinity, exhorting their Auditors above all Things to be in Love with CHRIST, to roll upon him, to *clasp* their Arms about his Neck, to run unto his *Embraces*, to *kiss* him, and a great deal more of such luscious Talk.

But to return from this Digression to G. Fox, who, as he herded together with J. HINKS, whilst a Stripling, was first infected with the loose and impure Tenets of the *Ranters*. He was afterwards put an Apprentice to a *Shoemaker*, but rose no higher than a *Journeyman*. Then it was, being weary of his Trade to get a Livelihood in an honest Way, that he improved on the Principles of the *Ranters*, by super-adding several of his own peculiar *Nostrums*, so as to be the distinguishing Characteristick of the *Sect* he was setting up. Yet he wanted Wit to invent a Name for his Party, 'till the Name of *Quakers* was bestowed upon them by others from their monstrous *Quaking* and Distortions whilst under the Agency and Possession of an evil Spirit.—— But more of this in the Sequel.

He pretended to Inspiration, and being prodigiously ignorant, or enthusiastick, or both, took every fanciful Thought, or roving Imagination, that came uppermost, to be the Voice of the Lord, or a Divine Revelation. Thus, p. 24 of his Journal, he saith, *When the Lord sent me forth into the World, he forbad me to put off my Hat to any, and I was required to* Thee *and* Thou *all Men and Women.*---But he did not rest here; tho' he pretended Inspiration even unto this and several other trifling little Things of the like Importance, the abandoned Wretch even assumed an *Equality* with God; for, in a Book printed in 1653, entitled, *A Brief Relation of the Irreligion of the Quakers*, there is an Account, how that G. Fox did avow himself, over and over, to be *equal with God*; and, being asked by Dr. MARSHAL, in the Presence of several Justices of the Peace in the County of *Lancaster*, at a Private Session in the Town of *Lancaster*, Whether or no he was *equal with God*, as he had before that Time been heard to affirm, his Answer was, *I am equal with God.* This

* *Dr. Nicholls*'s Introduction to his Defence of the Ch. of Eng. p. 87.

This Blasphemy has been attested upon Oath by the aforesaid Dr. MARSHAL, and Mr. ALTHAM, Schoolmaster, of *Lancaster*, before the Justices of the Session held at *Apleby* the 8th Day of *January*, 1652, and before Judge PULESTON at the Assizes held at *Lancaster* the 18th Day of *March*, 1652.*

As a Specimen of G. Fox's Ability in Writing, I shall here subjoin a Part of his last Will and Testament, according to the Original Draught. Without prefacing in *the Name of God*, as is usual with *Christians* in this last Act of Life, or of recommending his Soul to God, he thus begin,

I do give to THOMAS LOWER my Sedel, the ar at JOHN NELSON, and bzidal and Spozes, my book of eight langes, and my fiscal things, and my tow Diales, the one is an Cknocsha dial.

And so he goes on in disposing of his Trinkets, yea and even his *Glyster-pipe*, † and sets the two first Letters of his Name, G. F. after each Paragraph. It bears Date the 8th Month, 1688.

Mr. LESLY, who saw the Original, says that his Hand-writing is as bad as the Spelling, both equal to his Sense and Learning. Judge then (says that worthy Writer) what *licking* there must be to print any Thing that he wrote. And yet he had the unparallelled Impudence to put his Name to a Book of 32 Languages, called his *Battle-door*, and sets his Name not only to the Title-page, but under every Page, as in the Will under the several Paragraphs. And yet he understood not one Word of any of these Languages, but the *English*, and that but very coarsely, as another ordinary Mechanick; tho' his deluded Followers were made to believe that he understood all these Languages by immediate Inspiration, such as was given to the Apostles at *Pentecost*.

COTTON MATHER remarks, "That the Quakers' Stories "about their Miracles are little to be credited, particularly that "of G. Fox's having the Gift of Tongues, because that proud "Fool, (as he calls him) who could scarce write, hath set his "Name to a Book of above 30 Languages, called the *Battle-*"*Door*, when it was afterwards found that certain *Jews* were "hired to do that Work, and had Four-score Pounds for their "Pains, and a Dozen Bottles of Wine over and above." ‖

The

* *Lesly*'s Works, Vol. II. p. 25.
† *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 616, &c.
‖ Hist. of *N. England*, Book vii. p. 24. Fol.

The Associate of G. Fox in this Work of Iniquity was the infamous JAMES NAYLOR; for I find them mentioned together in the Petition of several Gentlemen, Ministers, &c. of the County of *Lancaster* to the then Council of State, *Anno* 1653, praying that some speedy Course be taken for suppressing those Evils, and is as followeth, *That* GEORGE FOX *and* JAMES NAYLOR *are Persons disaffected to Religion and the wholsome Laws of this Nation; and that, since their coming into this Country, they have broached Opinions tending to the Destruction of the Relation of Subjects to their Magistrates, Wives to their Husbands, Children to their Parents, Servants to their Masters, Congregations to their Ministers, and of a People to their God, and have drawn much People after them, many whereof, (Men, Women, and little Children) at their Meetings, are strangely wrought upon in their Bodies, and brought to fall, foam at the Mouth, roar and swell in their Bellies; and that some of them affirm themselves to be* equal with God, *besides many dangerous Opinions and damnable Heresies.** May it therefore please your Honours, *&c.*

This Pupil of Fox even went beyond his Master, if possible, in Enthusiastick Rants and Blasphemies: For he set up to be the CHRIST, the True Messiah, and rode triumphantly, and was *Hosanna'd* into the City of *Bristol* on *October* the 24th, 1656, the *Quakers* leading his Horse, strewing Branches and their Cloaths in the Way, and singing, *Hosanna, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Israel!*——Dr. MORE, who lived in that Time, writes that his Horse was led in Triumph by two Women trudging in Dirt as he entered *Bristol*, and singing *Hosanna!* † As he entered the City, he stripped himself stark-naked, being escorted all along by his mad fanatick Crew with loud Acclamations of Rant and Blasphemy. For this tumultuous Proceeding being apprehended and examined by the Magistrates, these miserably deluded Quakers, being blinded no doubt by SATAN, owned, *That he*, JAMES NAYLOR, *was the* CHRIST; *that his Name was changed from* JAMES *to* JESUS, *that he was the only begotten Son of God, the only Saviour; and that they knew no other Saviour but him.* And J. NAYLOR, upon his Examination, would not disown any Thing of this, but justified and owned it in Terms equivalent.——As a Punishment for his execrable Blasphemy, he was pilloried, and had his Tongue bored thro', his sorrowful Disciples looking on with rueful Eyes and a heavy Heart.

Lo, here are the two main *Pillars* of *Quakerism*, G. Fox, and J. NAYLOR, bating the kind Assistance that the *Romish* Priests

* *Lesly's* Works, Vol. II. p. 25.
† Grand Mystery, p. 112. Ed. Lond. 1660.

Priests in *Disguise* have contributed, of which more anon. These are the two *Corner Stones* upon which the *Quaker-Church* is built, if it may be called a *Church*. But hold! yes it may; there is a Scripture-proof for it in a parallel Case: For the Rabble of *Ephesus*, the mad Crew who made such an Outcry against the Apostle, are termed Ἐκκλησία, *Ecclesia*, or Church, *Acts* xix. 32. tho' the Word is rendered an *Assembly* in our Translation.

I have mentioned before that the Quakers have stripped Christianity of all the positive Ordinances of JESUS CHRIST, and reduced it to a mere Skeleton; and, instead thereof, they set up what they call the *Light within*. "That the *Light within* "ought to be a Rule for every one to walk by, I assert," saith the above-mentioned JOSEPH WYETH*. And, to name no more, a greater Man than he, *viz.* WILL. PEN, does roundly affirm, "That their Light within does surely guide them both "in Reference to Religion and Civil Affairs†." Now, by virtue of this *Light within*, which they call CHRIST, they at first broached the most horrid Blasphemies, *that they are one Soul with God*, and *equal to him*. But what they *now* generally seem to mean by this Light (for they are divided in their Sentiments) is any *extatick Motion*, or sudden *Impression* upon their Spirits, which they believe to be a divine and supernatural Impulse, tho' perhaps (as it often was the *Quaker*'s Case who fathered the Deliriums of their crude and wild Conceptions on the blessed Spirit of God) it may be either the Effect of Melancholy or Enthusiasm, yea, or sometimes the Suggestion of an evil Spirit.

In consequence of this *inward Light*, they have the Effrontery to affix God's Seal, *Thus saith the Lord*, to whatever their Rage, or Malice, or Folly, shall suggest; which is rank Blasphemy. When WILL. PEN had excommunicated G. KEITH, for being a little too orthodox in the Quakers' Creed, G. WHITEHEAD, a leading Man amongst them, a Month after denounced against him the following Curse, "Thus saith the "Lord, because thou hast poured forth great Contempt and "Reproach upon my Servants and People, I will assuredly pour "out and bring great Contempt and Confusion upon thee." This is signed GEORGE WHITEHEAD, dated the 17th of the 4th Month, 1695. And yet no Manner of Harm hath happened to G. KEITH, notwithstanding this terrible *Anathema*.

There are very strong Reasons to believe, and several Facts are recorded, that the first Quakers were actually possessed. One JOHN GILPIN, of *Kendal*, in *Westmoreland*, has published a strange and wonderful Account of his own Possession by the Devil;

* Switch for the Sn. p. 379.
† Preface to *Fox*'s Journal, p. 36.

vil, while he was a *Quaker*, in a Book which he entitled, *The Quakers spoken*, &c. printed in 1653, and attested by the then Mayor of *Kendal*, the Minister of *Kendal*, and several other Persons, whose Names are thereunto annexed. The Story is prodigious, and such astonishing Quaking and Distortion of his Limbs as could not be counterfeited, which the Devil told him was the Effects of his Inspiration by the Spirit of God.——And one JOHN TOLDEROY has printed a very punctual Narrative of his Conversion to *Quakerism*, and of the most astonishing Possession of the Devil, even to the Apparitions of evil Spirits dancing about him, and encouraging him in the Principles of Quakerism, chiefly to adhere strongly to his own *Light within*, which he was to make a superior Guide to Scripture; and, these unclean Spirits having the Power to make Impressions on his Imaginations, he became entirely subject to their Will, and was carried into strange Excesses even to attempt Miracles, but to no Purpose, for there the Devil left him in the Lurch *.

Tho' at some Meetings they would be *silent* altogether, yet at others there would be such loud and hideous Yellings and unnatural Screamings as to affright Dogs, Horses, *&c.* at a Distance. These monstrous Quakings, Distortions, and violent Motions, continued amongst them from their first Origin in the Year 1650 'till the Restoration *Anno* 1660, but have since for the most Part ceased.

This was fine Sport to the Emissaries of *Rome* to see their Plot succeed so well, yea beyond Expectation: For, that Quakerism is an accursed Weed of their planting is evident from several Circumstances. Sir J. WARE (who was exceeding curious in Affairs of this Nature) does aver, "That he was credibly informed, that a St. *Omer's Jesuit* declared that they were 20 Years hammering out the *Sect* of the Quakers †. To raise up a new Sect the most likely to introduce *Popery* required a great many Politick Heads and several Consultations, where one Time such a Scheme, at another Time a different one was proposed, something mended, something altered, something added, 'till at last they brought it to the Shape it made its first Appearance in in the World. And now let any one suppose, that, if all *England* had been infected with the Leaven of *Quakerism*, (as in that Time of *Cromwell* there was a Possibility) then all *England* would have fallen of Course an easy Prey to *France* or *Spain*, or any Popish Power that would invade it, without striking a single Stroke; for it is against the *Quakers'* Principles to fight, and they are under no Tye of an Oath of Allegiance to any Prince or Potentate. As

* The Lost out of the Snare, fol. 1696. p. 30. &c.
† Terrors and Tribulations, p. [illegible]

As to G. Fox, he was abundantly too ſtupid to lay ſuch a Plan (curſed as it is) without ſome borrowed Help from more refined Politicians; tho', as one of an *Enthuſiaſtick Caſt* of Mind, he was made a Tool of, he himſelf being entirely ignorant of the Grand Deſign of *Rome*. W. PEN, the Great Champion of the Cauſe, was known, by the moſt ſagacious of the *Quakers* themſelves, to be a *Papiſt*, tho', for private Reaſons, they did not care to expoſe him. And ROBERT BARCLAY, who wrote the *Apology*, was brought up a Papiſt at the *Scotch* Convent at *Paris*. 'Tis to no Manner of Purpoſe to alledge that, in this *Apology* for the *Quakers*, he does ſometimes caſt Reflections on the *Church of Rome*: This was in order to make the Maſk fit the more cloſe, when he had a double End in View, *viz.* to gain Proſelytes to Quakeriſm, and conſequently to carry on the Intereſt of *Rome* under that Diſguiſe; for the *Jeſuits* have laid this down as a Maxim, *That Diviſions and Separations are the moſt effectual Way to introduce Popery, and ruin the Proteſtant Religion.*

Thus did THOMAS HETH, in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH, exclaim againſt the Church of *Rome*; "he laboured (as he ſaid) "to refine the Proteſtants, and to take off all Smacks "of Ceremonies that in the leaſt did tend to the *Romiſh* Faith." Yet this very Man was detected to be a *Jeſuit* by a Letter that caſually dropped from him in the Pulpit, directed to him by a feigned Name from the *Provincial* of the Jeſuits. The Letter concludes thus, *There is no other Way to prevent People from turning Hereticks, and for recalling of others back again to the Mother Church, than by Diverſities of Opinions**. And it is very remarkable, that, when Pope PIUS (the Fifth of that Name) had cauſed to be impriſoned FAITHFUL COMMIN, a Fryar of the Order of St. *Dominick*, in that he was informed the ſaid COMMIN had ſpoken very abuſively of him and his Religion in *England*, the Priſoner humbly deſired an Audience of the Pope, which being granted, his Holineſs, at the firſt Sight of him, fell into a Paſſion and ſaid, *Sirrah, I have heard how you have ſet forth me and my Predeceſſors among your Hereticks of* England, *by reviling my Perſon, and railing at my Church.* To whom COMMIN reply'd, *I confeſs my Lips have uttered that which my Heart never thought; but your Holineſs little thinks I have done you a moſt conſiderable Service, notwithſtanding I have ſpoken ſo much againſt you.* To which the Pope returned, *How, in the Name of all the Saints, haſt thou done ſo? Sir*, ſaid COMMIN, *I have preached againſt* ſet Forms *of Prayer, and I called the* Engliſh *Common Prayer* Engliſh Maſs, *and have perſuaded ſeverally to pray*

 ſpi-

* Foxes and Firebrands, p. 31——45.

spiritually and extempore; and this hath so much taken with the People, that the Church of England *is become as odious to that Sort of People as* Mass *is to the* Church of England; *and this will be a* Stumbling-Block *to that Church whilst it is a Church.* Upon which the Pope commended him, and gave him a Reward of 2000 Ducats for his good Success*.

To return from this Digression, if it may be called one. There is sufficient Evidence upon Record, and attested upon Oath, that *Quakerism* was first broached in the populous City of *Bristol* in the Year 1654.

The Information of GEORGE COWLISHAW, *of the City of* Bristol, *Ironmonger, taken the 22d Day of* January, 1654, *who informeth on his Oath,*

'THAT, in the Month of *September* last, this Informant had 'some Discourse in *Bristol* with one COPPINGER, an *Irishman*, formerly a Schoolfellow of his, that came purposely 'thither for his Passage into *Ireland*, who told this Informant 'that he had lived in *Rome* and *Italy* eight or nine Years, and 'had taken upon him the Order of a Fryar of the *Franciscan* 'Company. And he told this Informant that he had been at '*London* lately for some Months; and, whilst he was there, he 'had been at all the Churches and Meetings, Publick and Private, that he could hear of, and that none came so near him 'as the *Quakers*; and, being at a Meeting of the *Quakers*, he 'there met with *two* of his Acquaintance at *Rome* (the which 'two Persons were of the same *Franciscan* Order with himself) 'that were now become *chief Speakers* among the *Quakers*, and 'he himself had spoke among the *Quakers* in *London* about 30 'Times, and was well approved of amongst them. And this 'Informant further saith, That the said Mr. COPPINGER asked 'him what Kinds of Opinions in Religion there were in *Bristol*. 'And this Informant told that there were several Opinions and 'Judgments, and not naming any Opinions of the *Quakers*, 'the said Mr. COPPINGER asked him whether there had been 'any *Quakers* in *Bristol*; and the Informant answered him, No. 'Whereupon the said Mr. COPPINGER told him, the said Informant, two or three Times, that, if he did love his Religion and his Soul, he should not hear them. Whereupon this 'Informant told him, that he thought none of them would 'come to *Bristol*; who expressly replied, that, if this Informant would give him Five Pounds, he would make it Five 'Hundred Pounds, if some *Quakers* did not come to *Bristol* 'within

* Foxes and Firebrands, p. 27, 28.

'within three Weeks, or a Month, then following: And, on 'the Morrow following, the said COPPINGER departed this 'City for *Ireland*, his native Place; and, about 18 Days after, 'there came to this City two Persons that bear the Name of '*Quakers*.'——Most likely his two Fellow *Franciscan* Fryars above-mentioned.

Thus it is evident to a Demonstration that the *Romish* Priests lent an assisting Hand in forming the Sect of Quakers at their first Appearance in the World. How numerous soever this upstart Sect may be at present in *Bristol*, yet it is not a compleat Century since their first Spawning there by two *Popish* Impostors.——I shall conclude with what the late excellent Bishop of *Worcester*, Dr. STILLINGFLEET, has collected out of ORLANDINUS in his Life of IGNATIUS LOYOLA, the Founder of the *Jesuits*, which Order was confirmed by the Pope's Bull, *A. D.* 1540. *It had been his Custom*, says ORLANDINUS, *not to give Men any Titles of Respect, but to call them only by their common Names; and he questioned a little with himself whether he ought to break that Custom, being once convened before a* Spanish *Commander, and resolves it in the Negative, because to do it proceeded from too great Fear of Men, therefore, being brought before him, gives him no Testimony of Respect either in his Words or Actions, and particularly he would not put off his Hat.* From this and several other Resemblances the excellent Prelate makes this Inference, 'If any one may guess the *Father* by the *Child*'s Likeness, IGNATIUS LOYOLA, the Founder of the *Jesuits*, was at 'least the *Grandfather* of the Quakers*.'

APPENDIX.

As a further Testimony that Quakerism had its first Rise from the Contrivance of Papists, I shall here add, that Sir JAMES WARE (who was very inquisitive in Matters of that Nature) does relate on another Subject, 'That, when JAMES NAYLOR made his triumphant Entry into *Bristol*, (as was above-mentioned) one ANTHONY NUGENT, a *Popish* Priest, pretended to be one of his Disciples, and went before through 'the Streets, crying out *Hosanna!*'——Hunting of the *Rom. Fox*, p. 229.

I forgot to mention (which is very material to the Purpose) that as several Quakers at their first Appearance were possessed, so we may justly infer, that one Effect of that Possession was their going stark-naked, (sometimes by Pairs of both Sexes) and that

* Idolatry of the Ch. of *Rome*, Ch. iv. p. 272, 282. Ed. Lond. 1672.

in the most publick Places. SOLOMON ECCLES, one of the chief Quaker-teachers, went quite naked into the Church of *Aldermanbury* in the Time of Divine Service. He was bedaubed all over with Filth and Excrements, which he did as an Emblem of the Nakedness and Filth of the Minister in preaching out of the Bible, and said 'that he might as well come there with a T---d 'in his Hand as the Minister with his Bible.'——And GEORGE WHITEHEAD, another of their Teachers, does vindicate S. ECCLES for his so doing, 'as a Sign (says G. WH.) of the Na-'kedness of such Professors and Priests as he, S. ECCLES, wit-'nessed against.'——G. WHITEHEAD's *Light and Life of* CHRIST *within*, p. 38. Ed. 1668.

The Wife of EDMUND ADLINGTON, of *Kendal*, went naked thro' the Streets the 21st of *November*, 1653; as did MARY COLLINSON, another Quaker-woman, of the said Town, who rebuked those that covered her Nakedness, telling them, 'that they hindered the Work of the Lord.' [*Vid.* LES. *Vol.* II. *Fol. p.* 263.] And it was no unusual Sight to see several Couples of them, Male and Female, walk the Streets stark-naked, and enter into a Church and disturb the Congregation.——Mr. COTTON MATHER, a Native of *New-England*, does also affirm, upon his certain Knowledge, that they frequently acted the same *Satanical Pranks there* as their Friends did in *Old England*. I shall transcribe a Part of what he says in his own Words, 'I 'would intreat the World that they would not be too ready to 'receive all Stories told by the *Quakers* about their *New-England* '*Persecution* upon two Women of their Sect, who came *stark-*'*naked* as ever they were born into our publick Assemblies, and 'they were (*Baggages* that they were!) adjudged unto the 'Whipping-post for that Piece of Devilism.'——*Hist. of* New-England, *B.* vii. *p.* 24. *Ed.* 1702, *Lond. Fol.* where several Instances of Diabolical Possessions are related at large, and some very surprizing.

In Dr. TURNER's History of Providences Dr. TEMPLAR relateth the Case of one ROBERT CHURCHMAN, who was leaving the Church of *England*, and embracing *Quakerism*; his Wife being further gone, and a *Principle* wrought in her, as they express it. But the Man was in some Suspense; and, as he was dubious what to resolve upon, a *Quaker-teacher* told him that he should see a Sign. Within a few Nights there was a violent Storm over his Room, and a Voice within him said, "Sing Praises, sing Praises; thou shalt see the Glory of "the New Jerusalem:" And then a glimmering Light appeared all over the Room. The Voice then commanded him to rise out of his Bed, to go *naked* to some Relations of his,

to

to deliver ſuch a Meſſage, and to threaten them with Fire and Brimſtone like that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* if they did not obey. ——He accordingly went *naked*, as he was commanded, performed his Meſſage, and returned home, where he ſtood *naked* about Four Hours; the Spirit within him in an unuſual Manner forcing him ſometimes to ſing, and ſometimes to bark like a Dog.

This Temptation continued for a conſiderable Time; but at length, by Dr. TEMPLAR's Advice and earneſt Application, and Attendance upon him, he recovered out of the Snare of the Devil, kept cloſe to the Publick Service of God as eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, and had nothing to do with the *Quakers* ever ſince Dr. TURNER's *Hiſt. of Provid.* Ch. lxxxvi. and GLANVIL *on Witchcraft*, Rel. vi.

Now, had this Man been perverted to *Quakeriſm*, theſe accurſed Symptoms, of going *naked* and *barking* as a Dog, would have been interpreted as ſo many ſure Tokens of Regeneration, and of a true *Seed* and *Principle* in him; but, ſince he was happily reclaimed, he is reputed an *Apoſtate*, and as one that withſtood the Motion of the Spirit.——Inſtances there are enough; and too many indeed of the ſame Kind might have been produced ſince the firſt Riſe of this *upſtart Sect*; but theſe are ſufficient to give a Sample of what they call the *Light within*.

To conclude, As the *Quakers* would fain obtrude upon the World the *Delirium* of a *heated* Fancy for true Inſpiration, ſo they *themſelves* are ſometimes notably gulled and impoſed upon, as is evident by the following remarkable, true Story. There was a Gentleman, that not long ſince lived in the North of *England*, (whoſe Name I cannot at preſent recollect) of a conſiderable Eſtate, and a Perſon of Diſtinction, that married a Wife, a very virtuous Woman, who had been brought up a *Quaker*. They lived very happy, the Huſband not at all interfering, but allowing her full Liberty in Matters of Religion, tho' he himſelf was a true *Proteſtant*, and a Member of the Eſtabliſhed Church. Now, after they had thus lived a good many Years in this happy Union without any Jarr or Diſcord, they were viſited by a *Quaker-teacher*, who called himſelf *David in the Spirit*, who was formerly acquainted with the Lady and her Parents, as being of the ſame Perſuaſion. Upon the Footing of Old Acquaintance he met with a very kind Reception; and he for a Time behaved tolerably civil, but at laſt grew very troubleſome, frequently making Diſturbance at Family-Worſhip, and conſtantly making a Noiſe and Clamour when (as we commonly expreſs it) *Grace* was ſaid before or after Meat.

This

This was born with for some Time by the Gentleman out of Respect to his Wife; but then his Behaviour grew intolerable: But how to get rid of him he could not well contrive, for fear of disobliging his Wife, for she had still a Hankering after her *Quaker-fooleries**; but, lucky for the Gentleman, there was a Nephew of his, that lived in the Family, a notable Youth, and ready at Invention, who, perceiving his Uncle very uneasy, (and how could he be otherwise?) did propose to him, that, if he would be pleased to let him have the Management, he would engage that the troublesome Guest should quit the House without any the least Infringement of Good Manners, and without the least Affront or Uncivility offered either to his Wife or *David in the Spirit.*

The Proposal was granted on the said Conditions; and the young Gentleman thus contrived it by a notable Stratagem. He caused a Hole to be made thro' the Cieling, exactly opposite to or above the Bed where the *Quaker* did use to lie, (imperceptible to him;) and, in order to disguise his Voice, he fitted to it a Sort of a *Speaking-trumpet*; and one Morning, as the Quaker lay in his Bed, he thus accosted him, *David in the Spirit!* The Quaker heard the Voice with some Concern, but spoke nothing: Then the Second Alarm sounded aloud, *David in the Spirit!* At this Second Call DAVID was in a great Emotion and Trembling, but, notwithstanding, still kept Silence: Then a Third Alarm, more vehement still, cried aloud, *David in the Spirit! David in the Spirit!* At which being terribly astonished, and being persuaded that it was a Divine Call, he made Answer (as SAMUEL did by ELI's Direction) *Speak, Lord, for thy Servant heareth.* To which the Voice replied, 'Thus 'saith the Lord: As thou didst bear Testimony to the Truth 'in the North of *England*, so I command thee to bear the same 'Testimony in the North of *Ireland.*' Upon which DAVID was all Obedience, straight got out of Bed, ordered his Things to be packed up, and, being authorized by this 'special Commission, instantly set out for the Place of his Destination, where he magnified the Divine Call to the great Joy and Edification of all the Brethren, to be thus confirmed in the *Faith* which was once delivered to GEORGE FOX.——Thus the worthy Gentleman got rid of his troublesome Guest without the least Diminution of Good-breeding in forbidding him his House, and in turning him out of Doors.——But how justifiable this Contrivance might be I cannot determine, unless on the Credit of an old Proverb, *That to deceive a Deceiver is no Fraud.*—— And so much for the *Quakers*, their Rise, and Progress, and Enthusiasm.

CHAP.

* Res [illegible] *odorem testa diu.*

CHAP. VII.

Of the Cameronians *in* Scotland, *and the* Fifth Monarchy Men *in* England.

ALtho' the *Cameronians* be rigid *Covenanters*, and ſtrictly adhere to the Inſtitutions of CALVIN, even to Superſtition; yet, becauſe of ſome peculiar extravagant Notions, they are not altogether owned by the eſtabliſhed *Kirk* of *Scotland*. *A Fierceneſs of Temper, a Copiouſneſs of long Sermons, and much longer Prayers, and a Grace before and after Meat of a full Hour's Continuance, came to be the chief Diſtinction of the Party**. They were ſo named from one RICHARD CAMERON, a noted Field-preacher, and a valiant Champion of the *Kirk Militant*, who was ſlain at *Aires-Moſs* Anno 1681, with his Sword in his Hand as he fell, fighting courageouſly for the Doctrine of Reſiſtance and the Covenant.

This was a Time when the *Duke* of *York* was at *Scotland*, who behaved in ſo obliging a Manner, (as ſaith Biſhop BURNET) that he was univerſally eſteemed. But, notwithſtanding, a ſtrange Spirit of Infatuation (ſays BURNET) ſeized thoſe turbulent People, *viz.* the Field-conventiclers, who were once called *Cargillites*, from one CARGIL, once a Miniſter of *Glaſgow*, but affecting Popularity, he commenced an itinerant or circumferaneous Holder-forth, and inſtilled very dangerous Opinions into the Minds of the Populace; which afterwards proved of fatal Conſequence both to himſelf and turbulent Followers.

Beſides ſeveral Enthuſiaſtick Flights in Matters of Religion, their ſettled Opinion was, that the King had forfeited his Right to the Crown by breaking the Covenant, (which was forced upon him at his firſt Coronation in *Scotland*) and therefore, in a formal Declaration, they renounced all Allegiance to him, and affixed the ſame to the Croſs of *Dumfries*. As many as were found in Arms were either taken Priſoners, or cut off by the King's Forces. Here CAMERON fell, as was mentioned before, Sword-in-hand. HACKSTONE, one of the Aſſaſſins of Archbiſhop SHARP, was taken Priſoner, and ſuffered with amazing Obſtinacy. When he was brought before the Council, he would not own the Authority; ſo he was ſummarily condemned to have his Hands cut off before he was hanged. He ſeemed all the while to be in an *enthuſiaſtick Rapture*; for, when his Hands were chopped off, he aſked, like one unconcerned, if

* *Burn.* Hiſt. of his own Times abridg. p. 15.

if his Feet were to be cut off too.——The above-mentioned CARGIL was also taken Prisoner, with many others of that mad Sect, (as Bishop BURNET expresly calls them) who all suffered with so particular an Obstinacy that, tho' the Duke, out of his Clemency, sent them a Pardon on the Scaffold if they would only say, *God bless the King*, yet they refused the Offer with Contempt*. One of them, a Woman, said very calmly, *she was sure God would never bless him*, and therefore she would not take *God's Name in vain*. Another said more sullen, *That she would not worship that Idol, nor acknowledge any other King, but K.* JESUS. About 15 or 16 died under this Delusion, and then the Duke ordered a Stop to be put to their Prosecution; and the rest to be sent to the House of Correction, and put to hard Labour, as the only Way to settle their distracted Brains.

They rebelled against the Government long before this, a few Years after the Restoration, and on the same Motive *set up the Covenant*, and *abolished Episcopacy*. Their furious Ministers went along with their Army, infusing Courage into them, and praying for Success: But notwithstanding they were defeated by the King's Troops under General DALZIEL, and had then also an Offer of their Lives if they would renounce the Covenant, they were firm and inflexible, and chose rather to die than renounce their *Idol*.

The Reverse of all this seasonable Clemency was the constant Usage of this enthusiastick Clan to as many of the King's Party as were so unhappy as to fall into their mercileſs Hands.——When the brave Marquess of *Montross* fought in the Cause of Loyalty and Religion, and miscarried in his Undertaking, his poor dispersed Army was, by the Country People, and at the *Instigation of their Teachers*, (as Bishop BURNET expresly affirmeth) who called upon them *not to spare, nor do the Work of the Lord deceitfully*, cruelly knocked on the Head, and unmercifully butchered every where in cold Blood.——As to the gallant *Montross*, after he had been lurking for some Time in Woods and Caverns, he was at last betrayed by one M'LIAN, of *Assin*, brought to *Edinburgh*, carried through the Streets with all the Infamy that brutal Men could contrive, and, in a few Days, executed on a very high Gibbet, and his Head and Quarters set up in divers publick Places of the Kingdom.——'His Behaviour 'under all this barbarous Usage, which he looked upon with a 'noble Scorn, was great and firm to the last. The Cruelty of 'his Enemies raised Horror in sober People; and the Triumphs 'that the *Preachers* made upon this Occasion rendered them odi-'ous,' as they well deserved to be, being a Knot of bloody-minded

* *Burn.* Hist. of his own Times abridg. p. 273.

minded Villains and publick Incendiaries. Thus fell this *illustrious Hero* by the Hands of Brutes and Barbarians; and that which does still aggravate the Heinousness of this execrable Murder is, not only that the *Marquess* acted by the King's Special Warrant, but that the *Scots* had two Commissioners, *viz.* the Earls of *Cassiles* and *Lothian*, at that very Time at the *Hague*, treating with the King about his Restoration. It was he that wrote the following *Stanza* with the Point of his Sword upon the Sand, in memory of his martyred Sovereign; which I do not mention for any peculiar Excellency, but, being an *extempore* Performance, it argues a lively Genius, equally devoted, as Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, *tam Marti, tam Mercurio.*

Great, Good, and Just, could I but rate
My Grief, and thy too rigid Fate,
I'd weep the World to such a Strain
That it should deluge once again!
But, since thy loud-tongu'd Blood demands Supplies
More from BRIAREUS' *Hands than* ARGUS' *Eyes,*
I'll sing thy Obsequies with Trumpet-sounds,
And write thy Epitaph with Blood and Wounds!

I shall not trace the *Cameronians* in their several Insurrections against the Government, to which their *seditious Teachers* always spirited them on, when there was the least Probability of Success; for their Principle was, that *Dominion is founded on Grace.* I shall only take Notice further of that almost unparallelled Act of Barbarity in murdering Dr. SHARP, Archbishop of St. *Andrew*'s, who was the *Second* of that Sacred Character, since the Reformation, that fell a Sacrifice to Presbyterian Rage.

This unhappy Man (unhappy, indeed, in his tragical End by the bloody Hands of Cannibals) was a Native of *Scotland*, brought up a Presbyterian, and maintained by them, as such, a considerable Time in *England*; but, after mature Deliberation, having quitted that Party, and conforming, he was, ever since, the Butt and Object of their Malice and Fury, more especially since he was advanced to the Episcopal Dignity.——As he was going into his Coach in *July* 1668, one of the enthusiastick *Banditti*, named MITCHEL, (noted for a fierce and savage Temper) came up and discharged a Pistol at him, but missing him, it shattered the Bishop of *Orkney*'s Arm, that stood just by, but whether he died of the Wound I am not informed. The Assassin escaped; but the Archbishop viewed him so narrowly, that, six Years after, he knew him, and had him apprehended. His Tryal was very solemn; and LOCKART, who was his Council,

made a long Harangue in his Defence; but his Plea was overruled, "That such Procedure upon the Matter would be exposing the Archbishop's Person to any Man that would attempt "to murder him, if Favour should be shewn to an Assassin:" And so he was condemned to be hanged.——BURNET makes a terrible Outcry against this Proceeding, and alledges, "That "probably it was one Reason, both in the just Judgment of "God, and the enflamed Fury of Men, that brought SHARP, "two Years after, to such a dismal End."

However that be, 'tis most certain that the Execution of this Assassin had so irritated the Spirits of those mad Zealots of his Faction, that they banded together, and vowed to revenge his Death the first Opportunity that offered. They were bloody-minded enough left to themselves; but much more so when their furious bigoted Teachers spirited them on as doing the Lord's Work effectually in destroying an *Apostate* to his former Principles, and an *Arch-enemy* of *Christ* and the *Covenant*. As they had continual Spies to give them Intelligence, so at last, as he was returning from an Assembly of State without his Servants, (his Daughter being the only Person with him in the Coach) a Party of these Hell-hounds attacked him, and, because they found him unattended, they, in their mad, enthusiastick Notions, concluded assuredly that God had now delivered their greatest Enemy into their Hands: Whereupon seven of them rode up to the Coach, and one firing a Pistol at him, which burnt his Gown, but did him no Harm, they fancied, that, as he escaped MITCHEL's Fire, he had some Charm, or Magical Spell, to secure him against Shot; so they dismounted, dragged him out of the Coach, (his Daughter being forced in the Anguish of her Soul to be a sorrowful Looker on, sorrowful indeed!) and, by many repeated Stabs with their Sabres in every Part of his Body, murdered him most barbarously.

They wreck their execrable Malice yet further. After they had so mangled his Body, that it was a Horror to Human Nature to look at it, (but it was a Feast to the Eyes of these Cannibals, as a stinking Carcass is to the Vultures) they cut off his Head, cleft his Skull in two Parts, and, having with the Point of their Skeins scooped out the Brain, and as so many incarnate Devils commissioned by Hell, made use of them, instead of Cups, to quaff and carouse in their Triumph, with loud Huzzas at parting, they drank to the Damnation of *Baal's* High-Priest, the *Caiphas* of St. *Andrew's*.—— *Cursed be their Anger, for it was fierce, and their Wrath, for it was cruel.* Gen. xlix. 7.

The vile and base Miscreants, about a Week after, held an exceeding

ceeding great Field-conventicle within 10 Miles of *Glasgow*, as it were a publick Thanksgiving for the Success they had in the Murder of the Archbishop. This was prorogued Day after Day with Riot and Tumult, 'till at length, the Government being justly incensed at such Outrages, a Body of the Guards was sent to suppress them; but they were repulsed with the Loss of about 30 of their Number. Flushed with this Success, they increased to the Number of 8000 strong, and grew formidable. Whereupon the Duke of *Monmouth* was immediately dispatched with a Special Commission to gather all the Forces both in the North of *England* and *Scotland*, to fall upon them without Loss of Time, and not to treat with them upon any Terms, as being stubborn and contumacious Rebels, that no gentle Method could reclaim. Upon this, when they found themselves much inferior to the King's Forces, a *Pannick* seized them, and they threw down their Arms and fled. The Duke carried himself towards them with all the Lenity imaginable, saying, *He could not kill Men in cold Blood, that was the Work of a* Butcher, *and not of a* General.

As to these seditious *Field-conventicles*, in order to have a just and adequate *Idea* of them, let one but recollect the vast Crowds that attended WHITEFIELD on *Kennington-Common*, and elsewhere; only with this Difference, only *one* mounted the Stage for that Time, and after having held forth for two or three Hours, and collected the Pence for charitable Uses, (that was always the Pretence) the Crowd would be dismissed with a Blessing, if the Collection would be somewhat tolerable; but, in the *Cameronian* Field-preaching, four, five, or six, (more or less, as they were provided) *mounted alternately*, as soon as one had done, a fresh Man would begin, and so continue alternately from Sun-rise to Sun-set. He, that could hold out longest, and made the loudest Vociferation, was the most extolled as the best-gifted Preacher. And this would continue for several Days successively without Intermission.——A vast many resorted thither out of Curiosity, and some for Pleasure and Diversion; for around such a large Circuit there would be several little Toy-shops, and little portable Booths, some for Cakes and Ale, some with Drams and *Geneva*; so that every one had his End.

The same Relation that the *Methodists* claim (notwithstanding all their Irregularities) to the established *Church* of *England*, the same do the *Cameronians* claim to the *Kirk* of *Scotland*. As the former do call themselves Members of the Church, but utterly despise all Canons and Constitutions and Ecclesiastical Polity; so do the latter as effectually the Acts of Synods and Classes. As the *Methodists* pretend they are the only Favourites of Heaven,

boast of special Revelations and Directions from God, &c. so the *Cameronians* likewise boast of Visions, extraordinary Revelations, and special Providences: All Nature must be subservient to the whimsical Dispensations of the one and the other. In a word, the *Cameronians* are the Enthusiasts of the *Kirk*, as the *Methodists* are of the *Church*.

Mr. KERR, of *Kersland*, would fain obtrude upon the World, that the *Cameronians* in general were a pious and devout Sort of People, and that some of their Teachers were gifted with a Prophetick Spirit. He mentions particularly one Mr. PEDIN, who, as he lay upon his Death-bed in the Year 1686, told his Friends that in a few Days he should die. "I shall be decently buried "by you, (saith he) and if my Body shall be suffered to rest in "the Grave where you shall lay it, then I have been a Deceiver, and the Lord hath not spoken by me: But, if the Enemy (the King's Forces) come a little afterwards, and take it "up to bury it in an ignominious Place, then I hope you will "believe that God hath spoken by me; and consequently there "shall not one Word fall to the Ground" of all that I have foretold.——Accordingly, in a few Days, he died, and was buried in the Church of *Auchinlack*, in the Shire of *Air*, and, in a little Time afterwards, came a Party of Dragoons and took up his Body, which they carried to *Cumnock*, not far distant, and buried it under the Gallows. Whereupon the *Cameronians* erected a Monument. *

Now, considering Time and Circumstances, *viz.* the *Cameronians* being routed, and the King's Troops pursuing them, this might easily be guessed at, without the least Pretence to a *Spirit of Prophecy*. Mr. KERR was obliged, in good Manners, to write all that he could to the Advantage of the *Cameronians*, for his Brother, DANIEL KERR, was a leading Man amongst them. And it is well known, that this Gentleman's Talents lay more in framing Political Schemes and Stock-jobbing than a true Discernment in Matters of Religion.

Among the *Papists*, indeed, (as says a Prelate of great Worth and Learning) the Light of Prophecy is one of the boasted Marks of the true Church, of which they give an hundred Instances, and challenge the *Protestants* to produce the like. Would they come among the *Methodists*, (and I may add the *Cameronians*) they might see their Challenge answered, and, perhaps, be induced to embrace them, or even to give them the Right-hand of Fellowship. †

So

* *Kerr's* Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 89.

† The Infallibility of the Methodists and Papists compared, Vol. II. p. 43.

So much for the *Cameronians* in *Scotland*. I ſhall now give a brief Account of the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, that committed ſuch a terrible Outrage ſoon after the Reſtoration in *England*. As the *Cameronians* were a diſtinct Body of Men, the ſame in Principle and Practice, long before they had that *Appellation* from R. CAMERON; ſo the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men* owe their Original to the Times of OLIVER's Uſurpation, (and, indeed, they were then actually ſo called and diſtinguiſhed) tho' they did not exert their Fury ſo viſible in Overt-acts of Cruelty (whatever might be their Intention) 'till after the happy *Reſtoration* of the King and Conſtitution in Church and State.——Whatever might be the ſecret Wiſhes of ſeveral bloody Enthuſiaſts and Fanaticks of different Denominations, yet certainly the Spirit of Diabolical Infatuation never poſſeſſed a Sect of People to a higher Pitch of fermented Rage than it did thoſe of this accurſed and bloody-minded Sect.——They, of all other Fanaticks that ſwarmed in thoſe Days, cauſed the moſt Diſturbance to OLIVER, tho' he had the Cunning to manage them well enough. "Some, ſays "Bp. BURNET, that were perhaps more ſincere, yet were re-"ally Brain-ſick, deſigned they knew not what, being reſolved "to pull down a ſtanding Miniſtry, the Law and the Property "of *England*, and all the ancient Rules of Government, (but, "by the bye, that was pulled down already) and ſet up in its "room an indigeſted, enthuſiaſtical Scheme, which they called "the Kingdom of CHRIST, or of his Saints, many of them be-"ing really in Expectation that, one Day or other, CHRIST "would come down and ſit among them; and, at leaſt, they "thought to begin the glorious thouſand Years mentioned in "the *Revelations*." Hence they were called the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, that, as the *Four* Great Monarchies of the World continued but for a Seaſon, this ſhould continue to the Conſummation of Time.

OLIVER, as was mentioned, had the Management to keep theſe unruly Spirits ſomewhat under Subjection; but, ſoon after the *Reſtoration*, they broke thro' all Reſtraints, and choſe, for their Leader and Captain, one THOMAS VENNER, a Wine-Cooper by Trade, and a pretended inſpired Teacher. It was agreed among them, that the Powers of the Earth were to be utterly deſtroyed, and King JESUS alone ſet up, whom they expected would come down from Heaven, cloathed with Majeſty, to appear at the Head of them. Before they roſe up in Arms, VENNER preached to them, (alluding to that of *Moſes*) *that One of them ſhould chaſe a Hundred, and a Hundred put Ten Thouſand to Flight*, and aſſuring them, in the Name of the Lord, *That no Weapons, formed againſt them, ſhould proſper, nor*

*a Hair of their Head be touched.** ——Their Imagination being thus heated by virtue of a supposed Commission sealed in the Court of Heaven, they are already assured of Victory; and, on *January* 6, 1660, they took Arms, and, in the Dusk of the Evening, marched to *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, where they mustered their small Party, and an innocent Person, coming by accidentally, being by them asked whom he was for, and he answering, according to the usual Mode, *For* GOD *and King* CHARLES, they shot at him directly, and killed him on the Spot.

The City being soon alarmed by such a Tumult and Insurrection, a small Party of the Trained-bands marched against them; but a Pannick seized them, and they retreated, so great was the Terror! Whereupon the bloody Enthusiasts, without any Controul, scowered the Streets before them, knocking down and killing every one they met with without Distinction of Sex or Age, insomuch that some Streets of the City were filled with Slaughter and Blood before any one could tell what was the Occasion of so much Mischief and Barbarity. They marched thus triumphantly, weltering in Blood, 'till they came to *Aldersgate*, where they halted, and proclaimed *King* JESUS, crying out, *No King but* CHRIST. From thence they proceeded to *Beech-Lane*, where a *Headborough* opposing them, they butchered him, and then precipitantly took their Rout to *Canewood*, wherefor a while they remained: But the City, having Intelligence thereof, sent out a Party of Horse and Foot, which took about 30 of them, and sent them Prisoners to the *Gate-house*.

During their Stay at *Canewood*, VENNER, and his two inspired Prophets, TUFFNEL and CRAGS, so worked up the Spirits of their small Party by perverting Scripture, and applying several Texts to be fulfilled in them, insomuch that they fancied themselves already seated on so many Thrones in the glorious *Millenium*. And on *January* the 9th they erect their Standard, and with displayed Colours march well-armed without Opposition to *Bishopsgate*, where they proclaimed *King* JESUS, and dispersed among the Populace (as many as dare approach near) a printed Declaration, intitled, *The Door of Hope opened*; but, in Effect, it proved a *Trap-door* of Destruction.——Upon this, some of the Trained-bands were ordered forthwith to attack them, to prevent further Mischief; but, as they approached near, their Courage fell, and they shamefully retreated to the Main-guard. They then proceeded triumphantly to the *Gate-house*, VENNER being armed with a Murrion on his Head and a Halbert in his Hand, and commanded the Prisoners (the Holy Brethren that were em-

* *Winstanley*'s Loyal Martyrol. p. 159. *Lond.* 1665.

embarked in the ſame Cauſe) to be ſet at Liberty, otherwiſe all Oppoſers ſhould feel the Weight of his Indignation, to their utter Ruin. But, before he could accompliſh his Deſigns, the Life-guard and two Companies of the Trained-bands ſet upon them, and a bloody Skirmiſh enſued. It muſt be owned, that the *Enthuſiaſts* fought like Lions, being reſolved to carry on the Cauſe at the Expence of the laſt Drop of Blood. Tho' they were but a Handful of Men in compariſon, yet being made to believe it was a Divine Impulſe, they dreaded no Danger. At laſt being overpowered by Numbers, and VENNER being knocked down, (tho' not mortally wounded) the reſt under the Command of TUFFNEL and CRAGS retired in very good Order towards *Cripplegate*, firing in the Rear at the Trained-bands that purſued them. Here they fortified themſelves as well as they could in a Publick Inn, and would not hear of any Terms of ſurrendering, and refuſed Quarters, 'till Col. Cox ſurrounded the Place, and ordered a File of Muſqueteers to get up Stairs and force the Door, and fall upon them; which, with great Difficulty, was at laſt performed. Here ſix of them were killed, and the reſt yielded.

Their Trial ſucceeding ſoon after this deſperate Engagement, VENNER was firſt called; and, being aſked *Guilty* or *Not Guilty*, he would not for ſome Time plead, but ran out into a wild Diſcourſe about his Converſation in *New-England*, and concerning the *Fifth Monarchy*, and the Teſtimony within him for above 20 Years. The Witneſſes depoſed, That he, together wtih TUFFNEL and CRAGS, *did ſeveral Times perſuade the Congregation to take up Arms for* King JESUS *againſt the Powers of the Earth:* That, after long Praying, the main Drift of their Preaching was *to ſtir up the People to fight for the Holy Cauſe*; and that they had *Special Directions from the Court of Heaven to kill all that oppoſed them*, inaſmuch as *they oppoſed the Work of the Lord.* After he was condemned, the Lord Chief-Juſtice FOSTER charging VENNER with the Blood of his Accomplices by his Seduction and leading of them, he anſwered ſurly, *He did not.* To which the Witneſſes being produced again, he evaded their Teſtimony with this blaſphemous Rant, *It was not he, but* JESUS, *that led them.* TUFFNEL and CRAGS were killed in the Scuffle.

According to the Sentence pronounced *January* 19, VENNER and HODGKIN, (another of the deſperate Gang) both dangerouſly wounded, were drawn on Sledges from *Newgate* through *Cheapſide* over-againſt their Meeting-houſe in *Swan-Alley* in *Coleman-Street*, where they were executed according to the Sentence pronounced againſt them. VENNER at the Gallows (as is

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usual with Enthusiasts and mad Zealots) vindicated himself and Fact, being confident, he said, *That the Time was at hand when other Sort of Judgment would manifest itself into the World.*—— As for HODGKIN, he died raving, praying and *calling down Vengeance from Heaven upon the King, the Judges, and the City of London.* Nor would he leave off, in imprecating Curses upon the whole Nation, until the Hangman, by the Sheriff's Order, turned him off the Ladder.——So that, as they lived, in the same mad *Enthusiastick* Principle they died. Their Quarters were set upon the four Gates of the City, by the *Regicides*, whose Quarrel and Revenge they undertook in this desperate Attempt.

There were *Sixteen* of them in all drawn, hanged, and quartered. And it is remarkable that, after all these seasonable Executions, the Spirit of the Party was not at all daunted. They continued to hold their Conventicles (in private) as frequent as ever, where one JOHN JAMES, a *Small-coal-man* by Trade, preached to them in the same Strain as did his Predecessors, exciting to Rebellion, and inveighing most bitterly against the King and Government. Whereupon he was tried and condemned. As he was drawing on a Sledge to *Tyburn*, some of his hot-headed Sect threw themselves into the same Sledge, and very tenderly embraced him. So highly opinionated were they of their silly, tho' bold and mad, Seducer!

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Three pretended French *Prophets and their deluded Followers in* England, *more particularly Sir* RICHARD BULKLEY, *and* JOHN LACY, *Esq; Their false Prediction of the Resurrection of Dr.* LAME, *in five Months' Time after his Interment. Their wretched Infatuation.*

OUR blessed Saviour has often forewarned us of Deceivers, false Prophets, and lying Wonders, so powerful to delude, that, if possible, they would deceive the very Elect.——This is a fair Warning to a giddy World, which is more readily influenced by the Pageantry of Gesture, strange Agitations, high Pretences, and big Looks of every insolent Pretender, than the weighty Truths of the Gospel.

Such was the Appearance of the Three CAMISARS, or pretended *French Prophets* in *England*, who found this Nation so fond of Novelties, and so susceptible of Impression, that, for some Time, they were crowded with Auditors, even some of the best Fashion, and made a considerable Trade of their *specious Legerdemain*, carried on under the Mask and Pretence of uttering *Prophecies*. These three bold Adventurers, or rather three notorious Cheats in Villainy and Hypocrisy, were ELIAS MARION, JOHN CAVALIER, and DURAND FAGE. But, when they played their Tricks so successfully to the Shame of the Nation, (as did the late *Bottle-conjurer*) they were joined by more of their Countrymen to share in the Booty. As to the first-named E. MARION, he was bold and cunning, had an excellent Memory, of good Natural Parts, but viciously inclined, and was brought up, as well as the other two, an arrant *Papist*; so that *Rome* will be found to have a great Share in the Intrigues of those sly Impostors. When he, with his two Companions, was contriving the impious Farce that they concerted among themselves to act in *England*, he pretended to be convinced of the Errors of *Popery*, and made a Shew of solemnly abjuring it, and of embracing the Protestant Religion, and so far imposed upon two *French* Ministers of *Lausane*, that they signed a Certificate, or Testimonium, wherein they declare, "That he never made "the least Step contrary to the true and pure Worship of God, "as it is taught and practised in the Protestant Religion.*"

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* This is an Abstract from a printed Narrative, wrote in that very Time, as supposed, by Mr. *Richard Kingston*, *Lond.* 1708.

As to the Character of J. CAVALIER, he was (as my Author calls him) the BOANERGES of the Party, (the very same Title that W. SEWARD gives D. R.) He was brought up at the *Jesuit*'s School, and continued there Seven Years; but, being a roving Youth, he broke loose, and listed himself a Trooper in the *French* King's Service, whose Subject he was. A Letter from *Geneva* represents him as a desperate Villain to all Intents and Purposes all the Time he continued a Soldier, and is worded thus: *We have heard here how that the Wretch* CAVALIER *plays the same Game now which he did wherever he has passed. He has been discovered to be an Impostor, and 'tis believed the* Jesuits *have given him these Lessons. If he had stayed longer at* Montpelier, *he had been hanged. He has been the Occasion of many People's being put to Death. He got them together, and then betrayed them.* ——Being cashiered and turned out of the Army for several knavish Tricks and Rogueries, he posted to *Geneva*: There he shifted his Religion, if he had any; at least he made a Shew, that, after having duly examined the several absurd Points of Doctrine in the Church of *Rome*, he could not, in Conscience, continue any longer a Member of it, but that he embraced the Reformed Religion, according to the Platform of *Geneva*. But here his Character was known, and therefore he was rejected with Scorn; but he had better Success at *Lausane*, and had a Certificate to attest, "That he behaved himself like a true "Christian." Being thus equipped as it were, he cast his Eye upon *London*, as a proper Scene to act his Part on; and here the lewd and impious Villain succeeded in his abominable Cheats, and laughed in his Sleeve at the Credulity of the Nation.

FAGE was brought up a Mechanick, who, if he had kept to his Trade, might have been very useful to Mankind to keep them warm, for he was a Weaver. [as the late THO. CHUB might have been also very serviceable to *illuminate* the benighted World, had he stuck to his Trade, for he was a Tallow-chandler.] This D. FAGE was a Man of a very ordinary Capacity; and, when the Cheat was detected, it was a Surprize to many how such a dull, phlegmatick Fellow could have Admittance into a Combination so intriguing. His Prophecies, as they were called, are wretched, incoherent Stuff; so that even the Inspired, the pretended Inspired, were ashamed of them. But, however, he was a compleat Villain, as is evident, among other Things, from this horrid Declaration, *that he would kill his own Father, and do any other Thing, if the Spirit did command him.* And when this was represented to the Brethren as a most pernicious Principle, their Answer was, "That they believe they are truly inspired of God; "that they are bound to obey him; that a Crime ceases to be

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"a Crime when once he commands; and that there is some-
"thing heroical in obeying his Commands when Nature has
"a Reluctance to them."——This vile Wretch was also a rank *Papist*, tho' he disguised it, and, by a false, outward Shew, and a pretended Zeal for the Reformation, had a Certificate signed at *Lausane*, and also at *Nimeguen*, "that he frequented "the Holy Assemblies:" For after his Return to *France*, and there boasting of his ludicrous Pranks, an Abbot asked him, *Well*, FAGE, *whence did you take your Text when you preached to these People?* He answered that he took his Text from a Song, *Fill, fill, give us full.*

This is the Character in brief of the Three *French Camisars* that so much imposed upon this Nation in the Year 1706, *&c.* They held several Consultations in *Montpelier* how to act the Imposture in *England*, and there began to practise in secret, *viz.* to have violent Agitations and Distortions in their Limbs, to foam at the Mouth, *&c.* which, by long Usage, they could do at Pleasure. I shall now proceed to give some Account of their Diabolical Proceedings here, whereby they got so many Admirers and Proselytes too, yea even some Persons of Distinction. On their first Arrival in *London* they addressed themselves to the *French* Church at the *Savoy*, pretending to be *Refugees*, and, by the means of the above-mentioned surreptitious Certificates, they easily got Admittance; but their Craft and Hypocrisy soon broke out, and, as soon as it reached the Ears of the Bishop of *London*, who kept a watchful Eye over his Diocess, (as did also his very worthy Successor, and the present most learned and every-way accomplished Prelate, Dr. SHERLOCK) he wrote to the Consistory at the *Savoy*, to examine into their Conduct; which was accordingly done. They were here treated with Abundance of Civility, and, with all the Candour imaginable, and with proper Arguments, dissuaded to continue any longer in their extatick Motions, and exhorted to betake themselves to some regular Course of Life, whereby they might subsist in an honest Way. To this they promised Obedience, and said *they had Orders from the Spirit to return to their own Country.* But the Matter did not continue long in this quiet State. The three Impostors, who had been a little before out of Conceit with their Trade, when it did not succeed to their Mind, found their Zeal kindled afresh, when they saw how they were admired and supported by the Credulity of the People of *England.* A vast many went to see them out of Curiosity, of which they made their Advantage; and there were almost continually Coaches at their Doors, and many sent for them to their Houses. This made them forget that the Spirit had commanded them to depart in a

few Days and return home. They made a Trade of their pretended Inspiration, which brought them in both Money and Respect; and they resolved to stay in *England*, where they were like to have so good a Market for their Ware.

Before they were under the Operation of the Spirit (as they termed it) they put themselves into several Postures and Agitations, by shaking the Head, and whirling in a violent Manner, 'till a *Vertigo* seized them, throwing the Hands, and tossing to and fro beyond the wild Pranks of any Mad-man, (which is, in express Terms, acknowledged and justified by a leading Man amongst them, tho' otherwise a Person of Learning.*) sometimes whistling, and then singing, laughing, piping, drumming, screaming, *&c.* All which they pretended to be supernatural and involuntary, as a Preparative to the Operation of the Spirit; yet it has been discovered that all was done in Concert, and that they did put themselves into these violent Distortions and bodily Concussions at Pleasure, more especially the Three Grand Impostors. They practised, as was hinted before, at *Montpelier*, tho' privately, by Way of Exercise, 'till they had a better Opportunity of shewing publickly; and, by long Use, they came to do surprizing Feats: But some of their Disciples were deemed, in the Judgment of several Men of Learning and Penetration, to be really and actually possessed by an evil Spirit.

After this Concussion of the outward Man followed the inspired Word or Prophecies. This was a Rhapsody of incoherent Stuff, such as any Man of Common-sense might dictate, and that to better Advantage, without the least Pretence to Inspiration. It consisted chiefly in broken Sentences, and Abundance of Tautologies, with a Space left between one Word and another in the Pronunciation, with a peculiar Tone and Emphasis, still heightened in the Imagination of the Crowd, as supposing it supernatural. And, to keep up the Grandeur of the Farce, every Prophet and Prophetess had a Secretary to attend, to take in Writing their pretended Inspirations.

The main Drift of the Doctrine that they did inculcate was the near Approach of the *Millenium*, which, they said, would commence in a few Months, when CHRIST would personally appear at the Head of his glorious Kingdom. If you will have the Description of this Paradisical State in the Words of a Prophetess, she thus declares, *That the Saints should shortly sit upon Golden Thrones, and receive a World of Respect and Reverence at the full Opening of the new Dispensation.* But, if you chuse a Description in the Words of a Prophet, he tells you in his *refined* Language, *That the triumphant State of the Church now approaching*

* Sir *R. Bulkley*, in his Impartial Account of the Prophets, p. 10. *Lond.* 1707.

preaching answers the utmost Hopes that the Jews *could have of their glorious* MESSIAH; *that the whole Creation shall appear in its primitive Beauty, and Man regain the Perfection of* ADAM *in his immediate Communion with* GOD; *and that, in this glorious State, the Ministry should cease, for the Lord himself would be the Light thereof, and his Law writ in every Man's Heart, so that he should have no more need to enquire of his Neighbours, but that every Man should be* Priest *unto himself.* *

The *French Church* at the *Savoy* was very much concerned at the spreading of such Delusions, (whereof they knew that their Countrymen were the original Authors) and made a publick Act as followeth:

" The Directors of the *French Church* of the *Savoy*, being " grieved to hear that the pretended Prophets from the *Cevennes* " continue to impose upon the Publick by their counterfeit Inspi- " rations, did appoint Deputies to make a strict Enquiry into " this Affair. The Deputies having reported that the Three " *Cevennois*, notwithstanding the Submission they protested they " would have for the Ministers of our Church, refused to ap- " pear before them, to answer to certain weighty Matters that " were to be proposed to them; having considered the Infor- " mations which have been made, the Company declares that " the Agitations of these pretended Prophets are only the Ef- " fect of a voluntary Habit, of which they are entirely Ma- " sters, tho', in their Fits, they seem to be agitated by a supe- " rior Cause. Many Persons, who have seen them in these " Symptoms, have discovered that they had them at Command, " and that they are entirely unworthy of the Wisdom of the " Holy Spirit. But the Way in which they make the Spirit " speak is still more unworthy of him, which is by perpetual " Hesitations, childish Repetitions, unintelligible Stuff, gross " Contradictions, manifest Lies, Conjectures turned into Pre- " dictions already convicted of Falshood by the Event, or some " Moral Precept which may be heard every Day much better " expressed, and have *nothing new* but the *Grimaces* with " which they are accompanied. These Persons have the Bold- " ness to ascribe all this to the Holy Spirit, making him say, " *'Tis I who speak this, who am* GOD! and such like Blasphe- " mies, which are the more dangerous in that hereby a Way is " opened to all the Errors which those, who collect these pre- " tended Inspirations, may foist into them, in which they can- " not be contradicted by those from whom they come origi- " nally, since, by a new Way of prophesying, they declare that " they do not at all remember what they said in their Agitati- " ons.

* Sir R. *Bulkley*.

" ons. The Consistory ordains this Act to be registered, both " to prevent the Reproach which those of the *Romish Communion* " might cast upon us, That, not being content with the Wri- " ters which the Holy Spirit has truly inspired, we make unto " ourselves new Prophets, and to testify to the Nation in whose " Bosom we have the Happiness to live, That we have done " what lay in our Power to prevent this great Scandal." *

Now tho' 'tis very evident these three *Frenchmen* were no Enthusiasts, but mere *Impostors*; yet the great Number, which they proselyted to their Opinion, having, by a kind of Contagion, catched the Distemper in their Imagination, did conceit they were Prophets indeed; among whom were some Persons of Distinction; the most noted are, Sir RICHARD BULKLEY, and JOHN LACY, Esq;——The former was a learned Gentleman, but of a very weak Judgment, and too easily imposed upon by a specious Appearance; as CERVANTES makes his *Don Quixot* to be, in all other Respects, a Person of tolerable good Sense, but, as to *Knight-Errantry*, he was lost to all Intents and Purposes. Thus our Knight *likewise* could argue very well on *common Topicks*, yet upon this, his darling Subject, he was quite bewildered. Besides several other small Tracts, he wrote an *Apology* in behalf of the *Prophets*, where he answers several Objections, and concludes by several Criterions they were *true Prophets*, the chiefest of which is, and on which he lays the greatest Stress, that they knew the Secret of a Man's Heart. *I myself*, says he, *am an Instance of this, for my most secret Thoughts have been revealed to me by some of the inspired Persons.*——The Knight by this lets the World know that he had a strong Faith.

The Government having taken Cognizance, at last, of these mad Proceedings, the three *French Rogues* were prosecuted for raising Disturbance and Commotions in the Kingdom; which caused such an Emotion of Spirit in the Knight, that he had the Impudence to accost the Lord Chief Justice, and tell him, *My Lord, if you will condemn these Men, you will be no less guilty than the* Jews *when they crucified our Saviour.*——To what Lengths of Folly will a heated Imagination hurry a Man! The Sallies of an Enthusiastick Zeal of all others are the most impetuous and ungovernable.

I shall dwell somewhat more largely on JOHN LACY, Esq; who, perhaps, was the greatest Instance of Satanical Delusion that can be produced in any Age, and scarce to be parallelled but on the first Appearance of *Quakerism*. Being a Man of a flexible Disposition, and somewhat of a melancholy Temper, he was easily wrought upon by the above-mentioned sly Seducers, the

* Account of the Fr. Prophets by R. Kingston, p. 9, 10. *Lond.* 1708.

the *Methodists* of that Age. He pretended to real Inspirations, and to utter several Prophecies in the Name of the Lord, when he himself was only passive, and wholly under the Guidance of the Spirit. I shall here subjoin his own Words: *The Bodily Impressions were gradually increasing upon me 'till the Effect was produced, viz. the opening my Mouth to speak. They began by a preternatural Course of breathing: Then my Head came to be agitated or shaken violently and forcibly, and with a very quick Motion horizontally, or from Side to Side: Then my Stomach had Twitches not much unlike an Hickup: Afterwards my Hands and Arms were violently shaken: At length a Struggle in the Windpipe, and sometimes a Sort of Catching all over my Body; and, for about a Week before my Speaking, I observed my Tongue was now and then moved involuntarily, as were also my Lips and Mouth.——And I do affirm, without the least Doubt, that my Agitations and Words in the Extacy are produced by a Supernatural Agent, and are independent of me any further than that I do not, nor dare, oppose, but to remain altogether passive.**——In another Pamphlet he speaks of his Agitations with some Addition, thus: "That the Agitations "proceed from a Supernatural Cause, and of an Agent separate "and distinct from me, I cannot be ignorant, after a full "Year's Experience.——Under this foreign Influence I felt "my Fingers forcibly contracted and moved to write "those Words in *p.* 90. of the first Book *of my Warnings.*† "Under this Influence my Body was removed 10 or 11 Foot, "without any concurrent Mixture of my Agency: Under this "Influence the Respiration of my Breath hath, for sundry "Days, beat various Tunes of the Drum, sometimes six Hours "in a Day, without my voluntary Operation, or thinking of "it, nay, sometimes without being able to stifle it: Under this "Influence I have been carried on my Knees several Times "round a Room, swifter than I could have gone on my Feet."‖

The bloomy 'Squire does often declare that he knew very little of *Latin*; yet, in his Trances and extatick Fits, he often delivers a long Harangue in that Language, and sometimes a Scrap or two of *Greek*. How far the Agency or Power of an evil Spirit may reach in such a Case I know not, but shall add a very remarkable Story from the learned and pious Dr. WOODWARD, very pertinent to this Subject. *I have*, says he, *particular Acquaintance with a Gentlewoman now in this City*, [London] *who had, in some Part of her Life, frequent Appearances of a Spirit to her in a glorious transparent* Brightness, *and with a pleasing rather*

* Preface to his Prophetical Warnings.

† Tempus adest ut Mysteria vobis jam data, omnino, sine remanente umbra, erint devoluta.

‖ The Dealings of God with *John Lacy*, p. 10, 11.

rather than affrighting Countenance. And, that we may have no Room to impute this to the Speculations of Fancy, the Spirit guided her Hand *to write many Things in* Greek, Hebrew, *and* Dutch, *and all these very correctly, tho' she knew nothing of them. His usual Discourse with her savoured of* Piety; *and, as she was once dressing herself at the Glass, he gave her a Caution against* Pride. *This continued several Months; and, when some learned Men desired to see her write under the Guidance of the* Spirit, *he bid her appoint them to come at an Hour he named, and they should see the* Thing, *tho' not the* Agent; *which was done accordingly. But the End was, that this Gentlewoman, who was virtuously educated, and of pious Dispositions, found herself nothing edified thereby, but manifestly* puffed up, *ready to contemn her Parents, and to despise Advice from any one. Upon which she betook herself more seriously to* Prayer, *and to the plain Paths of Christian Duty, and was in a short Time freed from the dangerous* Familiarity *with unknown Spirits.*——We have sundry other Instances, *says the Doctor,* both in Sacred and common History in which the Devil puts on the *Mantle* of the *Prophet* as his most likely Way to *deceive.**

As to what the 'Squire mentions of his being lifted up in the Air, there is a parallel Instance in IGNATIUS LOYOLA, the Founder of the *Jesuits*, as ORLANDINUS in his Life does attest, as I find him quoted by the most learned Bishop STILLINGFLEET. *One* JOHN PASCAL, saith he, *saw him raised up from the Ground in a dark Night; but, that being a* suspicious Circumstance, he adds, *that the Room at the same Time was filled with a great Light*†. And, as to the terrible Agitations that the 'Squire speaks of as Preparations to his receiving the Spirit, the first *Quakers* had as violent Concussions and Distortions of Body to the full, as was before related in the History of their Enthusiasm; and there is no doubt that the same Spirit acted in both.

I shall not rake into his several Discourses whilst under the *Operation* of the *Spirit*, tho' I have an Heap of them now before me; yet I cannot but take Notice of one, where, in the Height of Blasphemy and Enthusiasm, he introduces the Almighty thus addressing him, "My Child, thy Commission is sealed, and "shall be delivered thee in a few Days. When thou openest it, "the Kingdom shall be astonished, it is so large. I will give "thee Abilities to convince and silence all Opposers. Thou "shalt have, my Child, the Gift of Healing. I will open to "thee the Scriptures, according to thy Prayers. Thy infidel "Friends shall be confounded, because they have so reproached "my Spirit under Pretence of good Advice to thy Person."

Heated

* Remarks on the Modern Prophets by *Josiah Woodward*, D.D. p. 26. 27.
† Fanaticism of the Church of Rome, p. 273.

Heated by such extravagant Chimeras, Sir RICHARD, and JOHN, sirnamed LACY, (as he wrote himself since his commencing a *Prophet*) were so far infatuated, as to conceit that they and the gifted Brethren were commissioned from Heaven, as so many Heralds, to proclaim the everlasting Gospel prophecied of *Rev.* xiv. 6, 7.——*That which fully determined me in this Point* (says Sir RICHARD, of their being divinely inspired) *was their predicting Things miraculous to be wrought within a determined Time by them, and that Time very short; and declaring to the World, that, if the Power of God does not, before the 29th of* April *next, attest to the Work, they will own themselves deluded* *. Now, altho', by this Concession, the Event did shew they were Enthusiasts, yet they would not be convinced of it.

Besides the Failure of this Prediction, (which they gave out as a Criterion to judge of their being true or false Prophets) there fell, in the Interim, a very remarkable Incident, which was a Demonstration to all the World (but themselves) to testify whose Instruments they were. There was one whom they call Dr. EMES, a great Stickler for the Party, who died *December* 22, 1707, and was buried in *Bunhill-fields* the 25th *ditto*. The evil Spirit so far deluded them as to set them on prophecying that this Dr. EMES would raise from the Grave with a new Life in a glorious Body on the 25th Day of *May*, 1708. And Sir R. BULKLEY was so lost to all Reason, and intoxicated with Enthusiasm, that he published to the World that this EMES would be raised from the Dead on the said 25th of *May*; which therefore he calls a decisive Proof and a Touch-stone of the Prophets whether they were true or false, and concludes in these remarkable Words, *I am commanded*, saith he, *by a Message delivered to me by one of the Inspired under the Operation of the Spirit in the following Words*, "Be not ashamed to declare to the "World the Grounds on which thou believest this Voice to "be mine in raising Dr. EMES from the Dead.——Tell the "World that open Miracles and publick Attestations from Hea-"ven shall be given this City before *May* next, otherwise thou "wilt own that the Lord hath not spoken by this Voice, &c." †

There were no less than ten pretended Inspirations by so many of the Prophets not only spoke in their Publick Assemblies, but also published to befool the World into a Belief of this miraculous Resurrection. On the Day that he was buried, one J. POTTER thus addressed his Audience in the Prophetick Stile, *I will work, and nothing shall let——The restoring of the Blind, the healing of the Sick, the raising of the Dead, shall decide it after*

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* Impartial Account of the Prophets, p. 9.

† Sir R. B's. Answer to several Treatises, p. 87.

ſome Months being interred. By the ſame Power that I have raiſed JESUS, *will I raiſe that Body now aſleep, and more fat and more fair than ever he had been. It ſhall not be known by his Friends that he hath faſted ſo many Months. Yes, the ſame Body, the ſame Face, tho' more lovely.*——I ſhall add but one more, delivered by J. C. under the Operation of the Spirit on *December* 29. " My Children, in a few natural Months you ſhall ſee " greater Miracles wrought than I myſelf wrought upon LA- " ZARUS. When I raiſed LAZARUS, he had been but four " Days in the Grave. I commanded that the Stone that lay " upon it ſhould be rolled away. But you and the Inhabitants " of this City ſhall, in a few Months, ſee my *faithful Servant*, " who has been buried, raiſed in the Preſence of all Men. My " Children, he ſhall come out of his Grave without the Earth " being taken away that lies upon him. He ſhall come forth in " the Preſence of Men, and ſhall unty his Shrowd in which he " is now wrapped. This ſhall not be in ſecret, but in publick."

There is no manner of Doubt that *Bunhill-fields* was ſufficiently crowded on the 25th of *May*, in expectation of ſuch a miraculous Sight, as ſome Thouſands of People now living may very well remember. But, notwithſtanding all the Prophecies in his Favour, there was no Reſurrection, nor any the leaſt Symptom of it. Upon this ſo grating a Diſappointment, all the World in Reaſon might expect that theſe miſerable deluded People would be convinced and acknowledge their Error.——But ſo ſticky and tenacious of its Hold is the Spirit of Enthuſiaſm, that ſome pretended they had Counter-orders from the Spirit, that, becauſe of the Unbelief of that wicked and incredulous Generation, GOD had reverſed his Grant. Sir RICHARD, nothing at all daunted, wrote an *Apology*, wherein he endeavours to prove, *That a true Prophet may receive a Meſſage from Almighty God, which God, at the ſame Time that he delivers it, doth purpoſe not to bring to paſs. Now*, ſaith he, *the Prophet is a true Prophet in this, becauſe he delivers what he received from God.*——But, then, alas! (as Dr. WOODWARD well obſerves) how is GOD *true*, when he puts Words of *Falſhood* into the Prophet's Mouth?

And JOHN, ſirnamed LACY, was inflexible, and ſo zealouſly attached to his *Hypotheſis*, that, notwithſtanding, by his own Principles and Declarations, he was ſelf-condemned and convict of being a falſe Prophet, yet he would not own it. And he *likewiſe* ſet forth an *Apology*, in which (among other Things abundantly too tedious here to tranſcribe) he daringly aſſerts, *We have*, ſaith he, *ſeveral Reaſons (notwithſtanding this ſingle Inſtance of our being deceived) to believe ſtill that the ſupernatural A-*

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gent over-ruling us at Times is from God, and not of the Devil. To ſupport this he does impiouſly wreſt ſeveral Texts of Scripture; but that which he lays the greateſt Streſs upon is *Jer.* xx. 7. *O Lord, thou haſt deceived me, and I am deceived.*

This unhappy Man at laſt, when the *Heat* of his Brain had *ſcorched* up his Judgment, (as it did all the while he *acted* the *Prophet)* inſtead of taking Shame upon himſelf, and humbling himſelf before his God for his Sins, more eſpecially of Pride and Blaſphemy, quitted all Senſe of Religion, and turned out a *Rake* and *Libertine.*——So eaſy a Tranſition is the *Sink* from a crack-brained Zealot to that of an Atheiſt!

P. S. The three pretended *French* Prophets, after they had gained ſome Credit, but more Pence, by their *Legerdemain Tricks*, grew inſolent, and threatened no leſs than Deſtruction to all that oppoſed them. They pretended to have Viſions and Revelations, "That, in three Weeks' Time, they ſhould go "wet-ſhoed in the Blood of their Enemies;" and, no doubt, that was the Wiſh of their Heart. And Mr. LACY particularly was ſo elated at the Thoughts of this general Maſſacre, that he was heard to ſay to one of his Intimates, "That, if theſe "Events did not come to paſs according to the Time aſſigned, "he could not entertain a good Opinion of them," *viz.* the *French* Prophets.——How natural a Tendency has the Spirit of down-right Enthuſiaſm to thirſt after the Blood of all that oppoſe it! This, in the Enthuſiaſtical Cant, is doing the Lord's Work effectually, to deſtroy the Wicked, that the Saints alone might reign.

CHAP. IX.

Of Methodism. *The Interpretation of the Word. Of the* Moravians. *They and* WHITEFIELD *set up Methodism in* England. *Their Pretences to Inspiration, &c. Their Divisions, different and opposite Tenets. Several mischievous Consequences of Methodism.*

"WE may observe (says Mr. LOCKE) that, in all Ages, "Men, in whom Melancholy has mixed with Devo- "tion, or whose Conceit of themselves has raised them "into an Opinion of a greater Familiarity with God, and a "nearer Admittance to his Favour, than is afforded to others, "have often flattered themselves with a Persuasion of an im- "mediate Intercourse with the Deity, and frequent Commu- "nications of the Divine Spirit.——Their Minds being thus "prepared, whatever groundless Opinion comes to settle itself "strongly upon their Fancies is an Illumination from the Spirit "of God, and presently of Divine Authority; and whatever "Actions they find in themselves a strong Inclination to do, "that Impulse is concluded to be a Call, or Direction, from "Heaven, and must be obeyed: 'Tis a Commission from above, "and they cannot err in executing it."*

This was exactly the Case of the *Methodists* at their first setting up, as shall be shewn more at large in the Sequel; tho' a great many are of Opinion, that some *sly Folks* in Disguise contributed towards the Work.——The Word *Methodist* (says a learned and judicious Writer) is only twice used thro'out the New Testament, viz. *Eph.* iv. 14. and vi. 11. πρὸς τὴν Μεθοδείαν, & πρὸς Μεθοδείας τοῦ Διαβόλου [Μεθοδεία, Artes, Circumventio, Insidiæ, Steph. Lex. sub voc.] In the first of these Texts the Word Μεθοδεία, or *Methodism*, is translated *lying in wait* to deceive, or watching to take an Advantage of any one; and, in the other, it is rendered by the Word *Wiles*; or Stratagems; and, in both Places, denotes that cunning Craftiness whereby evil Men, or evil Spirits, lie in wait to deceive.

I would lay no further Stress, *says my Author*, on this Remark than only to intimate to these Gentlemen, and their Followers, that, in a blind and over-hasty Zeal, they have unfortunately stumbled even at the Threshold, and, instead of contenting themselves with being called by the general Name of *Christians*, have taken an Appellation, perhaps thro' a judicial Inadvertence, or Infatuation, which the Spirit of God has peculiarly appropri-

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* Vol. II. Ch. xix. p. 318.

ated to the Adversary of Mankind, and to those who are leagued with him in Enmity to the Interest of Righteousness and true Holiness. *

Methodism at its first Appearance (more especially as displayed by Mr. WHITEFIELD, in conjunction with the *Moravians*) is the Revival of *Antinomianism* in the Gross, and of the same Stamp with *Quakerism* in equal Pretensions to Inspirations and sudden Impulses.

"The *Moravians* came from *Moravia*, a Country of *Germany* of that Name; and thither also several of our *Methodists* "have gone in Person, to acquaint themselves with the Principles and Practices of that People.——In their Teachings they "are said to rest the Whole of Religion upon the single Point "of Believing, and to disclaim the *Moral Law* as no Part of "the Christian Dispensation.——They are also said to decry all "Human Qualifications for the Ministry, and all Human Helps "and Preparations towards the Conversion and Conviction of a "Sinner; so that they should seem to resolve all into the immediate Teaching and Working of the Spirit†." And Mr. J. WESLEY, who knew their Tenets as well as any Man, gives them still a worse Character, That they judged very mean of all the Ordinances of Religion, Sacraments, Prayers, Thanksgivings, reading the Bible, &c‖. And, in another Place, he accuseth them of substituting an uncertain *precarious inward Motion* in the Place of the plain written Word.——*N. B.* He was once a great Admirer of them; but at last they quarrelled, and then the Truth came out.

They endeavoured after the State of *Quietism*, so as to be calm and undisturbed to wait the Illapses of the Divine Spirit, which, they say, is the only possible Way to attain Saving Faith. According to the Description Mr. ADDISON gives of the *Pietists*, I am persuaded that our *Moravians*, in Matters of Religion at least, are the Descendents of that Enthusiastick Sect in *Switzerland* and some Parts of *Germany*. *There is a new Sect*, says he, *sprung up in* Switzerland, *which spreads very much in the* Protestant Cantons. *The Professors of it call themselves* Pietists, *and, as* Enthusiasm *carries Men generally to the like Extravagancies, they differ but little from several Sectaries of other Countries. They pretend in general to great Refinements, and to observe the following Rules: To sink themseves into an entire Repose and Tranquility of Mind; in this State of Silence to attend the several Illapses of the Holy Ghost, that may fill their Minds with Consolation*

* The Tryal of Mr. *Whitefield*'s Spirit, p. 2, 3. *Lond.* 1740.
† Conduct of the Meth. p. 6, 7.
‖ Vid. Enth. of Meth. and Pap. compared, p. 144.

lation and Raptures; to favour all his secret Intimations; to give up themselves entirely to his Conduct and Directions, so as neither to speak, move, or act, but as they find his Impulse on their Souls; to make a Covenant with their Senses, so far as to shun the Smell of a Rose, or a Violet, and to turn away their Eyes from a beautiful Object; to avoid, as much as possible, what the World calls innocent Pleasures, lest their Affections should be diverted from the Love of him who is to be the only Comfort, Repose, Hope, and Delight, of their whole Beings.

This Sect prevails very much, says Mr. ADDISON, *among the Protestants of* Germany, *as well as those of* Switzerland. *The Professors of it are accused of all the ill Practices which may seem to be the Consequences of their Principles; as that they ascribe the worst of Actions, which their own vicious Tempers throw them upon, to the Dictates of the Holy Spirit; that both Sexes, under Pretence of devout Conversation, visit one another at all Hours, and in all Places, without any Regard to common Decency; their making Religion a Cover for their Immoralities; and that the very best of them are possessed with Spiritual Pride, and a Contempt of all such as are not of their own Sect.**

This seems to me to be the Source and Spring-head from which Methodism originally flowed; and, however that WHITEFIELD is generally reputed to be the Author and Father of the Sect, yet many are of Opinion that the *Moravians* ought to share in the Honour. I am informed that the *Moravians* have wrote a great deal in a peculiar Jargon and mystical Cant, more especially the famous Count ZINZENDORF, who wrote several Sermons and Hymns. A Specimen of the latter is the following Stanza, which I the rather transcribe, because it bears a very near Affinity in the Cadence and Metre to some very antient Odes of the old *British* Bards. †

Chicken blessed and caressed,
Little Bee on JESUS' *Breast,*
From the Hurry and the Flurry
Of the Earth, thou'rt now at Rest.

As IGNATIUS LOYOLA was undoubtedly the Founder of the *Jesuits* in the *Roman* Communion; so it is generally believed that WHITEFIELD is also the Founder of the *Methodists* in the *English* Communion, notwithstanding the *Moravians* may justly claim a Share in the Transaction: I shall now trace him a little in the several Gradations that he has made towards it. Whether it was in Imitation of JOHN LACY, Esq; who has published a Pamphlet of GOD's *Dealings* with him (as was before related in the

* *Addison's* Works, Vol. II. p. 176.
† Vid. Grammat. Brit. Jub. Da. Rhesi, M. D. p. 201.

the History of the *French Prophets)* I know not, but, in fact, he wrote also, when very young, two Pamphlets, entitled, GOD's *Dealings with* G. WH. The first, (in the Judgment of a very eminent Divine of the Episcopal Dignity) besides a deep Tincture of *Superstition*, *Enthusiasm*, and *Vain-glory*, is such a boyish, ludicrous, and shameless Relation of himself as quite defiles Paper, and is shocking to Decency and Modesty.* And yet he assures the World in his Introduction, "That he "was much *pressed in Spirit* to publish it——The *Holy Spirit* "bringing Things to his Remembrance.——He had for three "Years prayed for Strength to write it, and at last had *Power* "*given*, and was assisted in it." What any Man in his *Senses* would be *ashamed* to own is by him ascribed to the H. Ghost!

His *Second Dealings* (as the same learned Author noteth) is such a thorough and fulsome Strain of Vain-glory and Boasting, Self-conceit, Self-applause, and Self-sufficiency, as shews Spiritual Pride in full Length, and its true Colours. The same Spirit runs thro' all his Journals; and I verily believe it hath not its *Parallel* in the World. Many have been so bloated with a Conceit of their own Perfections, as highly to be delighted with the most nauseous Flatterers: But such an *Inundation* of Commendation from a Man's own Mouth is surely *unexampled*. No Man ever so bedaubed himself with his own Spittle.

Throughout his *Journals* he ostentatiously displays the Applauses, Acclamations, yea, and the *Hosanna*'s of the giddy Mob. "I carry'd high Sails, *says he*, a Thousand and Ten "Thousands came to hear me; I was crowded, admired, sa-"luted, Hands kissed, hugged." Had he not then Reason to boast that the Tide of Popularity ran very high? And Mr. J. WESLEY (notwithstanding generally he is much more upon his Guard) discovers also a vast deal of Pride and Vain-glory. "As "I came to the Society-room at *Bristol*, (says he) just after "my Brother had done his Sermon, some shouted, the rest sang "Praise.——Art thou come, says another, *thou Beloved of the* "*Lord* †?" If so much *Luciferan Pride* domineers in the Life and Conduct of the gifted Rabbies, how naturally do their Followers catch the Contagion, and easily puff themselves up with a fancied superior Knowledge, Gifts, and Graces! WHITEFIELD does most intolerably profane Scripture in applying several Passages to himself that are peculiar to JESUS CHRIST. "At my first setting out I grew in *Favour both with* "*God and Man*," spoken of CHRIST.——"In preaching my "Heart was full of God, and I *spoke as one having Authority*" "Had

* Enthu. of Meth. and Pap. compared, p. 13, 14.
† Journ. iv. p. 96.

" Had the Pleasure of seeing my Audience increased no less than " Twenty Thousand present. *Blessed are the Eyes which see " the Things which we see.*" Words peculiar to those only who saw JESUS CHRIST in the Flesh, *Luke* x. 23. And can it be any Wonder to see the Spawn of this Enthusiastick Tribe, the petty Exhorters that ramble from Place to Place, pervert the Scripture, as their Predecessors did of old, *unto their own Destruction?* 2. *Pet.* iii. 16. Whatever crude, nonsensical, heretical, or even blasphemous, Opinions they vent, it is sure to be swallowed by the gaping Multitude.

I have mentioned above that WHITEFIELD, by the Help of his *Moravian* Friends, (whatever was contributed from another Quarter) set up *Solifidianism*, or the Gross of the *Antinomian* Doctrine, and was a great Stickler of the following Five Articles of the Synod of *Dort*.

ART. I.——GOD, by an absolute Decree, hath elected to Salvation a very small Number of Men, without any Regard to their Faith and Obedience whatsoever, and secluded from Saving Grace all the rest of Mankind, and appointed them, by the same Decree, to eternal Damnation, without any Regard to their Infidelity or Impenitency.

ART. II.——That CHRIST JESUS hath not suffered for any other but for the Elect only, having neither had any Intent, nor Commandment of his Father, to make Satisfaction for the Sins of the whole World.

ART. III.——That, by ADAM's Fall, his Posterity lost their Free-will, being put to an unavoidable Necessity to do, or not to do, whatsoever they do, or do not, whether it be good or evil; being thereunto predestinated by the eternal and effectual secret Decree of God.

ART. IV.——That GOD, to save the Elect from the corrupt Mass, doth beget Faith in them by a Power equal to that whereby he created the World and raised up the Dead; insomuch that such, unto whom he gives that Grace, cannot reject it, and the rest, being Reprobate, cannot accept of it.

ART. V.——That such, as have once received that Grace by Faith, can never fall from it finally, notwithstanding the most enormous Sins they have committed. *

These are the distinguishing Tenets that WH. did cordially espouse and propagate. But when Mess. the WESLEYS embarked in the Cause of Methodism, they strongly opposed these Articles, and, indeed, taught the very Reverse of them. Hence it is that they accuse each other of teaching damnable Doctrines, Doctrines essentially erroneous. Mr. WESLEY charges Mr. WH.

* Arcan. Dogm. Anti-remonst. p. 23.—47.

WH. with horrid Blaſphemy in his rigid Doctrine of abſolute Reprobation; and he partly owns the Charge, and ſeemingly retracts: But it is obſerveable, "That, in their ſeveral Anſwers and Defences, a Strain of *Jeſuitical* Sophiſtry, Artifice and Craft, Evaſion, Reſerve, Equivocation, and Prevarication, is of conſtant Uſe*." Hence it is, that moſt of their firſt Admirers and Followers, ſeeing the Heats and Diviſions among them, reciprocally damning each other, (WESLEY damning WHITEFIELD and his Doctrine, and WHITEFIELD damning WESLEY and his Doctrine) were perfectly bewildered, and deſerted both Teachers, and turned *Moravians*, or Libertines, or Deiſts, or Papiſts, or Quakers.

There is yet a third Branch that hold Principles quite deſtructive of Chriſtianity; for, beſide the *Antinomian* Errors in the Groſs, and a profeſſed Libertiniſm, they revive the *Sabellian* Hereſy, and maintain there is no Diſtinction of Perſons in the ever-bleſſed and holy Trinity, and ſo are *Anti-trinitarians* and *Patripaſſians*. 'Tis true, both *Weſtleyans* and *Whitefieldians* diſclaim and quite diſown this impious Party; yet a great many of the petty Exhortors are infected with this damnable Hereſy, and are ſupported by ſome clandeſtine Fund, deſigned to ſubvert Chriſtianity, or at leaſt the Religion profeſſed among Proteſtants.

But notwithſtanding their direct Oppoſition in Judgment and Doctrine, and damning each other, yet they accord in the ſame Opinion concerning Impreſſions and Feelings. They lay equal Claim to extraordinary Revelations, Inſpirations, Special Directions, Miſſions, Calls, Extaſies, Viſions, and Communications, with God.----Of the two, it muſt be owned that WHITEFIELD is moſt luxuriant in Enthuſiaſtical Rants. "The LORD, ſays he, gave me the Text I preached on juſt before the Meeting, directed me to a Method as I was going up the Pulpit-ſtairs, and enabled me to diſcourſe with an unaccountable Clearneſs, Freedom, and Power†." And, in another Place, he acquaints his Friends, *That, one Morning, he talked with the Lord in a Garden as a Man talketh with his Friend* ‖; with abundance more of ſuch Enthuſiaſtick Flights too fulſome either to relate or tranſcribe. And Mr. WESLEY, notwithſtanding he is generally more upon his Guard, diſcovers alſo a vaſt deal of Vanity and Preſumption in boaſting ſo highly of *his* and his *Brother's* Abilities. He can alſo call Names to ſome Purpoſe. Some Perſons of Diſtinction that oppoſed him are worſe (as he expreſſes it) than the Scum of *Cornwall*, the Rabble of *Bilſom* and *Darleſton*,

* Compar. Vol. II. p. 164.
† Jour. vii. p. 66.
‖ Lett. Vol. III. p. 44.

the wild Beasts of *Walsal*, and the Turnkeys of *Newgate*.

I shall now trace them a while beyond Sea in their Peregrinations to *America*, where the same Strain of Enthusiasm was still ascendant. *Cœlum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare natant.* Mr. CHANCY, a Presbyterian Minister of *New-England*, in a set Discourse upon that Subject, makes a terrible Complaint of the Confusion and tumultuous Proceedings carried on by the *new Missionaries* and Followers in that Part of the World. He remarks that, as soon as any was made one of their Disciples, "he immediately seemed to be filled with a censuring Spirit; "Children against their Parents, and Servants against their Ma-"sters, declaring them to be Hypocrites, and Heirs of eternal "Damnation*." Of this he gives an Instance (among many others) of a young Girl, who, being made a Convert to Methodism, told her Father, *She could see the Image of the Devil in his Face, and that all the Prayers he ever made in his Family were nothing but Abomination in the Ears of the Almighty.*——A pert Hussy, indeed! But there are enough of the Sort in *Old-England*, as arch to the full.

The same Author relates of Mr. JAMES DAVENPORT, one of the fiery Zealots, (of whom Mr. WHITEFIELD makes such an honourable Mention in his *Journals*) who, having pretended to receive a Command from the Spirit to destroy every Ornament and bodily Dress that any one most delighted in, thereupon issued out an Order to enjoin all to pay Obedience to the Dictates of the Spirit. Upon which (such is the *Power* of *Enthusiasm!*) every Man and Woman brought into his Chamber their best Apparel and Ornament, 'till the Room could hold no more.---Then was published a *Second Proclamation*, to bring unto him such Books as he thought fit to prohibit, and, among the rest, the *Whole Duty of Man*, and *Bishop* BEVERIDGE's *Thoughts on Religion*; which was accordingly done: And a vast Heap of them was on a Sunday Evening committed to the Flames, the miserably-deluded People singing Hallelujah, and declaring with a loud Voice, *That the Smoak of the Torments of such of the Authors of all these Books, as died in the same Belief as when they wrote them, was now ascending in Hell in like Manner as they saw the Smoak of these Books rise.*——The fine Cloaths next were to be consumed; but luckily, one of the Fraternity, who had a Hankering after some Finery that he had first parted with, dissuaded them from their Purpose†. How DAVENPORT resented this Violation of Order, my Author does not inform. Probably, he was satisfied with the Sacrifice of the *Books*.

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* State of Religion in *New-England*, p. 169. *Boston* 1744.
† *Ibid.* Annot. in. p. 221, 222.

I shall now add but one Thing more from the aforesaid Author, and that is the Confusion in their Religious Societies, * "some screaming, some talking, some praying, some exhorting, some jumping up and down, some singing, others laughing, shaking Hands, and kissing; and all this at the same Time and at the same Assembly: And this Hurly-burly, groaning, fainting, falling down, praying, laughing, skipping about, shaking Hands, and embracing, (the latter, says my Author, was commonly practised by different Sexes) would often continue for several Days and Nights successively."—— And was not this an inviting Religion to Rakes and Libertines?

Their most solemn Performance would be an artful Management of the Holder-forth to scare his Audience with some shocking Expression, as, *that Hell flashes in their Faces; that Satan stands ready to snatch them away:* And then he would repeat three or four Times, with a peculiar Tone, the awful Word, *Damn'd! Damn'd! Damn'd!* This loud Repetition of the Word *Damn'd*, with such an Emphasis in the Pronunciation, would fright the Children and make them cry; this would affect the tender Mothers, and set them screaming also: And thus the whole Congregation by Sympathy would catch the Infection, and the Scream would become general, which they fancied, like the *French* Prophets, to be the Work of Conviction.

The fond Expectation of those in *Old* as well as *New-England* is, That God has raised them up to usher in the glorious *Millenium*. Thus Mr. WESLEY, speaking of the Conversation he had with some *Moravians* in *Holland*, adds, *The rest of the Day we spent with the Brethren and Sisters in hearing the* wonderful Work *which God is* beginning *to work over all the Earth*†. To the same Effect writes Mr. WHITEFIELD, "I am confirmed in my Opinion that God intends to work a Great Work upon the Earth‖." And not to omit Mr. SEWARD his Testimony, § *I believe*, says he, *the Lord is working a Great Work upon the Earth; and who knows but we are come to the Dawnings of the Glory of that Day? Tho' the Work is very great for the Time, yet I believe 'tis but a Grain of Mustard-seed to what it will be.*

Now the evil Consequences of Methodism is very apparent in several Respects.

I. Their sudden Expectation of the *Millenium* might have been of the utmost fatal Consequence, had they been more explicit, and fixed the Time of its Commencement; but that they pru-

* This ludicrous Devotion, or Mock-worship, has been practised in *England* and *Wales*, and, for aught I know, continued to this Day.

† Jour. ii. p. 39.

‖ Jour. iii. p. 107.

§ Jour. p. 64.

prudently kept in Reſerve, ſeeing ſo many miſcarried in their Chronology. This was the Motive, viz. *That the Saints ſhould reign, and the Wicked be deſtroyed*, that ſet on VENNER and his Accomplices to butcher ſo many in cold Blood in the Streets of *London*, as was mentioned before: This was the Wiſh of the *French Prophets*. And there is no doubt that many of the Methodiſts are bloody-minded enough, did they ſee any Probability of Succeſs.

II. Their damning all the World beſides themſelves makes their giddy Followers look upon all the reſt of the World as Reprobates: They look upon them with Diſdain and Contempt, as fighting under the Devil's Banner, and Rebels againſt God. "Let any one look into the latter Part of Mr. WESLEY's *Far-* "*ther Appeal*, and he will find enough of *uncharitable* and *dam-* "*natory Clauſes*; diſpatching all Mankind to Hell, (as far as "lies in human Power) who are not *Methodiſts*: Not thoſe in "general, as they would pretend, who are void of a due Love "to *God* and *Man*, who believe not in Chriſt, and keep not his "*Commandments*, but all who ſubmit not to their *Special Diſ-* "*penſation of Methodiſm*."*

III. The extraordinary Boaſting, Pride, and Vain-glory, that abounds in all their *Journals*, makes their Followers ſoon catch the Contagion, who are, indeed, naturally and eaſily *puffed up* with a fancied ſuperior *Knowledge*, *Gifts*, and *Graces*, after being cajoled by their Leaders with ample *Promiſes*, *Expectations*, and *Aſſurances*†. Theſe exalted Strains in Religion, and an Imagination of being already in a State of *Perfection*, are very apt to lead Men into Spiritual Pride, and a Contempt of their Fellow-chriſtians, while they conſider them as only going on in the low and imperfect Way. ‖

IV. Their encouraging any illiterate Mechanick, that has but *Aſſurance* enough to ramble from Place to Place, as *Exhortors* and to expound Scripture, has very bad Conſequences. In the particular Trade any of theſe was brought up, *Taylor*, *Tinker*, *Weaver*, *&c.* he might be uſeful, and earn his Bread in an honeſt Way; but, growing idle and ſelf-conceited, the general Method is to turn Exhortor. And, what is moſt ſhocking, every one of theſe illiterate Vagrants pretends to expound by Inſpiration, and, which is rank Blaſphemy, fathers all his crude Conceptions on the Dictates of the holy Spirit.

V. Their very mean Opinion of being orthodox in Matters of Belief makes their Followers run into very extravagant Notions

* Compariſ. p. 117.
† *Ibid.* p. 24.
‖ *Conduct of* the Meth. p. 16.

tions without the leaſt Remorſe. "'Tis a Point we inſiſt upon, "ſays Mr. WESLEY, that Orthodoxy, or *Right Opinions*, is, "at beſt, but a *very ſlender* Part of Religion, if any Part of it at "all.*" The plain Conſequence whereof is, that teaching and believing the fundamental Errors of Popery is of *very little Moment*, if of *any*. Hence it is that *ſome*, both Teachers and Followers in fact, do turn *Sabellians*, *Anti-trinitarians*, *Solifidians*, *Quakers*, or what they pleaſe. Let them be as *heterodox* as a bewildered Fancy can make them, provided they are *Methodiſts*, they are ſafe enough, Mr. WESLEY does *abſolve* them.

VI. Sudden and inſtantaneous Calls lead Men to neglect the Means of Salvation, gradual Improvements, and growing in Grace.——"Very many Perſons changed in a Moment, ſays "Mr. WESLEY, *always ſuddenly*, as far as I have known." ——And ſays of himſelf, *My being born of* GOD *was an* inſtantaneous Act, *enabling me, from that* Moment, *to be* more than Conqueror *over thoſe Corruptions which before I was a Slave to*†. And yet, in another Place, he ſays of himſelf, "By the moſt infal-"lible of Proofs, *inward Feelings*, I am convinced of Pride." One may eaſily take his Word for this latter Conceſſion: But how then to make it conſiſtent with the former Declaration is beyond an ordinary Capacity to judge.——But 'tis a trite Obſervation, that great Boaſters (to uſe the ſofteſt Expreſſion) have not always the beſt Memories.

VII. The preſumptuous Doctrine of the *Aſſurance* of Pardon, preſent and future, and the *Certainty* of Salvation, (whereof the two Champions do make ſuch a Rant in their *Journals* ‖) does naturally fill the Head with Spiritual Pride, and induces a falſe and fatal Security, to the Neglect of future Endeavours.—— No Marvel, then, if the Preſumption riſeth ſtill higher into a Fancy of *Perfection*, an *unſinning* State and *unſpotted*, while other wretched Mortals lie groveling in the Mire of Vice, or at beſt in an *imperfect* Way. §

VIII. *Impulſes*, *Impreſſions*, *fancied Inſpirations* and *Revelations*, being made the Rule of *Duty*, will make Men as confident in *wrong* Practice as in *right*, and, preſumed upon as certainly coming from *Heaven*, will of courſe lead them into dangerous Errors of Judgment and Behaviour.——"The ſworn "Enemy of our Salvation (ſays a learned and pious Gentleman) "is very watchful and very ſubtle: He knows the Power of "Enthuſiaſm, and how apt we are to take the Raptures of a "warmed

* Vid. Compariſ. p. 171. Vol. II.
† Journ. iii. p. 16.
‖ *Weſl. Journ.* ii. p. 30. *Wb.* v. p. 17.
§ *Compariſ. Vol. I.* p. 45.

"warmed Imagination for the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit." *

IX. That Summit of *Arrogance*, a Claim of *unsinning Perfection*, and absolute Freedom from Corruption, which is the Privilege of our *Redeemer alone*, one may safely affirm the Methodists are at a great Distance from: Whence those *warm Heads*, which in Imagination have attained it, or are just laying hold of it, will arrive only to the most *Enthusiastick Phrensies*; and those of a less sanguine Spirit will be tempted to give over the Pursuit, become *desperate*, or turn Libertines. †——They own there is Corruption in the *Old Man*, but not in the *New Man*. By this subtle Distinction we may infer, that any Person may indeed sin, and be obnoxious to *Divine Wrath*, when he considers only the *Old Man* in him; but, by pleading that his *New Man* is *innocent* and *guiltless*, he is in no Danger. ‖

X. Their seduced Followers being persuaded that their Teachers speak from God, and are immediately sent upon *his Work*, will find little Inclination to dispute any of their *Doctrines*, or boggle at their *Examples*, how *immoral* or *unscriptural* soever. § However Scripture is wrested or perverted in their Expositions or Explanations, all is received, without any further Examination, as the Oracles of unerring Wisdom.

XI. The gross *Antinomian* Doctrine, maintained by most of the *Methodists*, (by all the *Moravian* Party) gives too much Encouragement to all Manner of Immoralities and Vice.——They generally hold, (as they did in the last Century) *That Sin in a Child of God should never trouble him, inasmuch as God imputes no Sin to his Elect, tho' the same Action in the same Circumstances is a Sin in a Reprobate.*——In a word, they hold, "That, if *one of* "*them* by the Spirit knows himself to be in a *State of Grace*, "tho' he commits *Murder*, or *Adultery*, God does not look "upon it as any Sin in him."

XII. Their deprecating *good Works*, and teaching Justification by *Faith alone*, without any Regard to *good Works*, does naturally lead People to a Disregard of *Moral Duties*, and a low Esteem of them, or, rather, to think them no Part at all of the Christian Religion.——"Who dares assert, says WHITE-"FIELD with his usual Rant, that we are not justified *merely by* "*an Act of Faith*——*without any regard to Works* past, present, "or to come." ** And yet (as says the Right Reverend and [illegible] Author from whom I took the Liberty to borrow most

moſt of theſe Obſervations) I apprehend it requires no great Courage to aſſert it after ſuch Authority as that of St JAMES, Ch. ii. 14, 24. *What doth it profit, my Brethren, tho' a Man ſay he hath Faith, and have not Works? Can Faith ſave him? Ye ſee then how that by Works a Man is juſtified, and not by Faith only.*

Theſe are ſome of the bad Conſequences of Methodiſtical Enthuſiaſm; to which I may add the natural Tendency of their Behaviour, in Voice and Geſture and horrid Expreſſions, to make People mad, which very frequently has indeed been the Caſe with a great many of their Followers.——The Manner of the *Itinerants'* holding-forth is generally very *boiſterous* and *ſhocking*, and adapted, to the beſt of their Skill, to alarm the Imagination, and to raiſe a Ferment in the Paſſions, often attended with ſcreaming and trembling of the Body. The Preacher now grows more tempeſtuous and dreadful in his Manner of Addreſs, ſtamps and ſhrieks, and endeavours all he can to increaſe the riſing Conſternation, which is ſometimes ſpread over a great Part of the Aſſembly in a few Minutes from its firſt Appearance. And, to compleat the Work, the Preacher has his Recourſe ſtill to more frightful Repreſentations; that *he ſees Hell-flames flaſhing in their Faces*; and that they are *now! now! now! dropping into Hell! into the Bottom of Hell! the Bottom of Hell!* This boiſterous Method ſeldom or never fails to ſet them ſcreaming; and very often they grow diſtracted.

I had almoſt forgot to mention the great Diſſervice intended to the Proteſtant Religion in that abominable raſh Cenſure of WHITEFIELD upon Archbiſhop TILLOTSON's Works, and the *Whole Duty of Man*; thereby diſcouraging People, as far as it lay in his Power, from peruſing theſe excellent Books.——Part of the ſecond Article of Impeachment exhibited againſt Dr. SACHEVEREL was, that he aſſerted, "That Archbiſhop GRINDAL was a falſe Son of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate "to the Toleration of the *Genevian* Diſcipline*." And yet a greater Man than GRINDAL, one of conſpicuous Sanctity, of an Apoſtolical Spirit, one of eminent Parts and Learning, and one of the greateſt Divines of the Age he lived in, is repreſented, by this ſelf-conceited, opinionative Novice, as one that knew no more of Chriſtianity than MAHOMET the *Turk*, as ignorant of the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity as a *Turk*, as much without God and Chriſt as a *Turk*, and that his Writings as well deſerve the Flames as thoſe mentioned *Acts* xix. But ſurely the *Flame* of his Zeal is an *Ignis fatuus*; and had there been but this ſingle Inſtance of it, and his Conduct had been regular in other Matters,

* His Tryal, p. 13.

Matters, yet this very Declaration, and that vindicated a second Time, would sufficiently convince the World that the Spirit of Infatuation had quite bewildered the Man. And, since this great and good Man is thus basely murdered in his Character by this daring Enthusiast, the Leader of the Party, it is no great Wonder that SEWARD, (who was entirely governed by him) to humour his Master, doth likewise spit out his Venom, and call him a *Traitor*, an *Impostor*, a *grand Deceiver*, *whose Books have so long bewitched the World* *. Poor weak Man, he was made to believe so!

I shall conclude in the Words of the judicious and learned Author so often quoted above. "I persuade myself it will appear, "that this *new Dispensation* is a *Composition* of *Enthusiasm*, *Superstition*, and *Imposture*. When the Blood and Spirits run *high*, "inflaming the Brain and Imagination, it is most properly *Enthusiasm*; which is *Religion run mad*:——When *low* and *dejected*, causing groundless Terrors, or placing the *Great Duty* "*of Man* in little Observances, 'tis *Superstition*; which is *Religion scared out of its Senses*:——When any fraudulent Dealings are made use of, and any wrong Projects carried on under the Mask of Piety, 'tis *Imposture*, and may be termed, "*Religion turned Hypocrite*." †

* His Journal, p. 46, 62, 63, 71, 77.
† Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared, Vol. I. p. ult.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of Count ZINZENDORF. *Of* JACOB BEHMEN. *Of Mr.* LAW: *His strange Conceit of the Creation of the World: He maintains that* ADAM *might have propagated his Species without any Conjunction with a Female, if he had persisted in his State of Innocency. A further Account of the* Methodists. *Madness common among them. Screaming. Sudden Convictions. Casting out Devils. Miraculous Cures. Their Account of Regeneration.*

WHETHER Methodism be originally the Produce of *England* and improved in *Moravia*, or the Produce of *Germany* and improved in *Great-Britain*, is what I cannot determine; but it is certain that the *Hernhuters* of *Moravia* lent an assisting Hand, and contributed largely towards its Formation and Growth. The Principal of this Enthusiastick Tribe is the famous Count ZINZENDORF, of whom I have very little to say, but that he is the Founder of the *Unitas Fratrum*, as the Members of that Association are pleased to distinguish themselves by. When he was but Ten Years old, he had even *then* some early aspiring Thoughts of being the Head of a Sect. Whenever the *Hernhuters* (for so they are called) are settled in any Kingdom of *Europe*, or elsewhere, they consider themselves as living under a *Theocracy* administered by NICHOLAS LEWIS the Count, who delivers his Mandates in these, or such-like sublime Terms, *Jesus will have it so*; or, *The Lamb commands it at your Hands.*

The Count (to preclude all Disputations concerning the Moral Nature and Tendency of his Injunctions, and to render his Authority absolute and unlimited) has established, as fundamental Maxims, That Reasonings and Philosophy are to be rejected, and that the Scripture itself does not contain a Rule of Faith and Practice.——Thus having set aside the written Word of God, and placing the whole of Religion upon *New Revelations*, their Religion is bound by no Law, and restrained by no Tye. *

By this Sketch of their Doctrine and loose Principles it is evident, the *Light within*, or any Man's roving Fancy, is the sole Director, as of their fleeting and unconstant Tenets, so

* Vid. Gent. Magaz. May, 1753. p. 236. from *Henry Rimius*, which I have not seen.

likewise of their Worship and Adoration. Hence it comes to pass that the Brethren of the Enthusiastick Tribe in *England* do so differ in Opinion and Judgment, as I have mentioned in the foregoing Chapter.---It is in fact the Revival of the Enormities and Licentiousness of the last Age, now above a Century ago, when it was free for any silly Mechanick and illiterate Pretender to vent his Nonsense not only with Impunity, but with Applause and Reverence.——That we may discern at first View a direct Parallel between the Practice and Innovations of *that Age* and the *present*, I shall cite a few Passages from a Prelate of great Worth and Learning, who lived in those very Times, Dr. HACKET, Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*. "Ignorant "Laicks, says his Lordship, preach privately and publickly to "the Corruption and Dishonour of the Gospel: Nay, *all* "would be Teachers in the Gatherings of the Sectaries; scarce "a *Mute* in the Alphabet of these new Christians, but *all* "*Vowells*. Every one puts his Hands to CHRIST's Plough "that neither know Seed, Soil, nor Season.——It is a lame "Excuse to say, in the Behalf of some of these Upstarts, that "they are *gifted Men*. Who reports this, but such as are "blind as themselves? They have bold Foreheads, strong "Lungs, and talk loud. An empty Cask will make a great "Sound if you knock upon it. They have sounded it sweetly, "when their Disciples are *Anabaptists*, *Familists*, *Brownists*, "*Antinomians*, *Socinians*, *Adamites*, any thing but *Orthodox* "*Christians*. A World of unstable People flock after these "*Coachmen-preachers*, *Barber-teachers*, and such-like able-"headed Companions.*" This so visible a Resemblance would almost persuade one to think that the Bishop was drawing the Picture of the present Age, and not that of his own; so like are the *Colourings*, the *Drapery*, and *Attitude*, in both!

It being needless to alledge more Testimonies on this Subject, I shall now proceed to animadvert a little on some few *Paradoxes* of the grave and Reverend Mr. LAW; and that more especially, that, as a great deal of the *pious Works* of this Gentleman savour very much of the Enthusiastick Spirit, so it is most certain, that some high Flights of Piety (intermixed indeed with Bombast and Tinsel) have worked a wrong Biass on weak and crazy Intellectuals.

As to this extraordinary illuminated Writer, (you shall hear more of that anon) I believe he is an Episcopal Divine and a Protestant, and not at all a *Papist*, or, in genteeler Terms, not at all a *Roman Catholick*; yet some Expressions, I may venture to say, seem to have an unlucky Tendency to what is most absurd

* The Life of Arch-bishop *Williams*, Part II. p. 165, 166.

absurd in the pretended-infallible Church; as when he says, *How innocent is the Error of* Transubstantiation *when compared with the* detestable Doctrine *of absolute Election and Reprobation!* *——Neither do I suppose that Mr. LAW is a professed *Quaker*, though he takes a Delight to talk sometimes in their Language, and particularly admires that mystick Expression of JACOB BEHMEN, 'If the Divine Power in the inward Ground 'of the Soul was manifest, then is the whole Tri-une God 'present in the Life of the Soul. *There* is the Place where the '*Father* begetteth his *Son*, and where the *Holy Ghost* proceedeth 'from the Father and Son.†' This is a fundamental Article of their System, which the Adepts in *their* Divinity may possibly understand as well as several other *Data's* equally mysterious.

This *Rosi-crucian* Philosopher, JACOB BEHMEN, was a *High-German*, who held Principles in Religion very much a-kin to those of the *Family of Love*, as equally absurd, and as equally unintelligible. As he was naturally of a gloomy and melancholick Temper, so he maintained several odd Whimsies, both in Philosophick Matters, and in Divinity; for he would fain be a Dauber in both. He had a high Pretence to the Knowledge of the *Language* of *Nature*, and to interpret the very Essence and Nature of all Things, animate and inanimate, by the particular Name that each Individual was called in *High-Dutch*, his native Language; for he was ignorant of any other, notwithstanding his Name, as well as that of GEORGE FOX, is prefixed to several Pamphlets in *Latin*; but that was beyond his Skill. What he himself wrote is an affected *Jargon* and Bombast, scarce apprehended by any that are used to sober and intelligible Sense, though his Admirers pretend they are much edified by it. This terraqueous Globe we live upon he calls the *Mixed Out-World*; the Kingdom of Darkness, the *Dark-Fire-World*; and the Kingdom of Glory he names the *Holy-Light-World*: And yet he declares that these *lie in one another*, that *Heaven* is in *Hell*, and Hell in Heaven.‖——This grand Enthusiast likewise (as is common to the Tribe) pretends to have a Communication with the Deity, and tells a very silly Story of an old Man, who, upon Pretence of buying a Pair of Shoes of him, read him his Destiny; and, upon receiving some good Instructions from him, concludes that he was an holy Angel sent from God to be his Guardian and Director of his Life. He does not say that the old Man vanished, but carried

* Spirit of Prayer, Part II. p. 92.
† *Ibid.* Part. I. p. 100.
‖ Vid. Dr. *H. Moore*'s Divine Dialogues, Vol. II. p. 338, 353.

the Shoes along with him; and how he could infer that he was an Angel is beyond the Apprehension of any, but of a real Enthusiast, whose Fancy is susceptible of any Impression.—It is more natural for a Stranger to conclude, from this idle Story, that JACOB BEHMEN, as well as GEORGE FOX, was of the gentle Trade of CRISPIN, or, in other Words, a *Shoemaker* or a *Cobler*.

Having thus given an Hint of the Character of the Person whom Mr. LAW is pleased to call the Blessed JACOB BEHMEN, I shall now return to animadvert on some unheard-of Peculiarities in the Writings of his great *Admirer*. He seems to make Hell, the Place of Torment as commonly understood, to be nothing else but a *Chimera*; for, whatever he meaneth, thus he writes: "All Sin, Death, Damnation, and Hell, is no-"thing else but the Kingdom of SELF.*" And, in another Place, *Hell is Nature destitute of the Light*.——He makes the New-birth, or Regeneration, to be a Privilege of Heathens, remaining as such, as well as of Christians; for he says, 'When the Desire of the Soul is turned to God, though in 'Souls that never heard either of the Law or Gospel,—then 'the New-birth in CHRIST is wrought in those that never 'heard of his Name.†'——He makes the Creation of the World abundantly more fantastick than even Dr. BURNET in his *Theory*; for thus he writes, 'That the Place of this World 'is the very Place, or Region, which belonged to LUCIFER 'and his Angels; and that every thing that we see in this 'World, all its Elements, the Stars and Firmament, *&c.* are 'nothing else but the invisible Things of the Fallen World 'made visible in a new and lower State of Existence:' Or, as he expresses it elsewhere, 'This World was raised out of the 'Materials of the Fallen Angels' Kingdom.' ‖

ADAM, he says, was created an Human Angel in Paradise. He had this Angelick Nature united to a Life and Body taken from the Stars and Elements. Then he adds, in a mystical Jargon, *That, as Paradise overcame and concealed all the Wrath of the Stars and Elements, and kept that Evil which is called the* Curse *from being known and felt, so* ADAM'*s Angelick Heavenly Nature (which was the Paradise of God within him) kept him quite ignorant of that Earthly Nature that was under it* §: The Meaning of which very probably the Disciples of the illuminated JACOB BEHMEN and the *Rosi-crucians* do comprehend.

But now, to proceed to the most wild and Enthusiastick Notion

* Spirit of Prayer, Part I. p. 79. Ed. 3.
† *Ibid.* Part II. p. 96, 97.
‖ *Ibid.* Part II. p. 32, 50.
§ *Ibid.* Part II. p. 62.

tion that ever possessed any Mortal before, (far beyond the Reach of any of the Heathen Poets, or even the *Cabalists* among the *Jews)* he peremptorily maintains, that ADAM, in case he had persisted in his *State of Innocence*, might have been a *Parent* of a numerous Offspring without the Use or *Conjunction* of any *Female*; for, when he mentions the Text, *It is not good that the Man should be alone*, Gen. ii. 18. he thus comments upon it, "This shews that ADAM had altered his first State, "had brought some *Beginning* of Evil into it, and had made "*that not* to be good which God said to be good when he "created him; and therefore, as a *lesser Evil*, and to prevent "a *greater*, God divided the first perfect Human Nature into "Two Parts, into a *Male* and *Female* Creature.——It was at "first the total Humanity in One Creature, who should in "that State of Perfection have brought forth his own Likeness out of HIMSELF, as he was brought forth by God." * And this not a sudden Thought, but the Discovery of a Secret after a long and serious Consideration, which he often inculcates with Variety of Circumstances, all tending to prove (if you take his Word for it) that, if ADAM had continued in his primitive State of Innocency, he might have been the Parent of a numerous Offspring *out of himself*, without the Use or Enjoyment of Woman. And, to make his Meaning as clear as Words can express, he delivers himself thus: *Had* ADAM *stood in his first State of Perfection as a Birth of Divine Love, this Love would have been itself the fruitful Parent of an Holy Offspring: No* EVE *would have been taken out of him, nor any Male or Female ever known in Human Nature*†. But says he, *After he warped once, and let in an* adulterate Love *into his Heart, the Divine Power had no* Strength *left in it of bringing forth a Divine Birth from* himself. *This State of Inability is that which is called in Scripture his falling into a deep Sleep.*——What a fantastick and distracted Commentary is this upon the Creation and Fall of ADAM! What could *bewitch* the Man to hit upon such a roving Fancy? Since he was in the Humour of granting such a generative Power to ADAM alone, it would have been kind in him to let us know in what Manner this *numerous Offspring* should be produced, whether by *spitting* them out of his *Mouth*, or *blowing* them out of his *Nostrils*: But in this Affair our cautious Author has left every one to his Liberty to guess and *think freely* as he judges most proper. Here is now a Match for *Lucina sine Concubitu*, only with this vast Difference, That the Author of that ludicrous Piece does it in a Kind of Ban-

* Spirit of Prayer, Part II. p. 74.
† *Ibid.* Part II. p. 78.

Banter and Satire; but the *Enthusiast* goes to work in a serious Mood, and labours hard to discover a Secret which has remained latent since the Creation, and would have continued so to the World's End had it not been for this Gentleman's wonderful Sagacity and prolifick Brain; the Discovery of which, he thinks, is of great, very great Service and Importance to the Cause of Religion.

He has several other very odd Notions, peculiar to himself, on the Subject of the Fall of ADAM; as when he says, "God "did not create the *Tree of Good and Evil*, but the *Curse* of "the Earth, since ADAM lost the Rectitude of his Will;" which, with some Variety of Expressions, he dwells upon very often, as another favourite Notion. He speaks with great Contempt, and arrogantly, of God's Prohibition of the forbidden Fruit to ADAM, as a Trial of his Obedience; for thus he writes, "That, if you consider the Fall of Man as a *single* "*Act* of Disobedience to a positive *arbitrary* Command of "God, this is to make all the Consequences of the Fall un-"explicable; for, had the first Sin been only a single Act of "Disobedience, it had been more worthy of Pardon than any "other Sin, merely because it was the first, and by a Creature "that had no Experience." *

I shall not trace him any further in his wild Enthusiastick Rants, but only remark, that what any Body else (that had Intervals of Sobriety) would have been really ashamed to have owned he prides himself and glories in; for thus he introduces one of his *Dramatis Personæ*, or one of the Speakers of his Dialogues, and give his Verdict in the Behalf of his New-fangles, *It is one of the best Doctrines I ever heard in my Life; it gives so good a Sense, so sound a Meaning, to every Mystery of the Gospel*†. And again he brings one of his Speakers to declare himself thus, *Truly, Sir, there seems to be so much Light and Scripture for all this Account that you have given of these Matters, as must force one to consent to it.* ‖ How the Man does glory in his Dreams and Illusions! And yet this is the Man that has wrote a Treatise on *Christian Perfection*, as if to be elated with Pride and Self-conceit was a Characteristick and Badge of it.

I shall observe but one Thing more, and that *likewise* as *Chimerical* as any of his crude and sinister Notions; and then take Leave of our visionary Enthusiast. This is a very material Point; 'tis no less than the Means and Way to attain to a Spiritual Life, or a perfect *Regenerate* State. And, according to him, the *Re-*

* *Spirit of Prayer*, Part II. p. 91.
† *Ibid.* Part II. Dial. II. p. 73.
‖ *Ibid.* p. 79.

Recipe is this, viz. "To retire from the World and all Con-
"versation only for *One Month*; then, in that Solitude, one
"is neither to read or write, or to debate any Thing with
"one's Self, and to *stand* all this Month as continually as can
"be; but, whether *standing still*, or walking, to be always in-
"wardly longing, and earnestly praying this *one Prayer* to God:
"*That of his Goodness he would make known unto you, and take*
"*from your Heart, every Kind, and Form, and Degree, of Pride,*
"*whether it be from evil Spirits, or your own corrupt Nature;*
"*that he would awaken in you the deepest Depths, and Truth of*
"*all that Humility which can make you capable of his Light and*
"*Holy Spirit**." This our Author calls the *Infallible Touch-stone* to try whether you are a Child of God or no.——This, by the Description he gives of it, looks somewhat like a Charm, or Magick Spell; such Virtue being attributed to the precise Time, the Posture, and the Form of Words here prescribed: Or at best it has a visible Conformity to an ordinary Practice in Popish Countries, where a plenary Indulgence is very often upon Occasions granted on going a Pilgrimage to MADONA of *Montserrat*, or Lady of *Loretto*, &c. and there saying so many *Ave-marias*. But whether from Ethnick Superstition, or Popish Christianity, (such as it is) or from his own prolifick Fancy, our Author has taken it, is a Matter beyond my Skill to determine.

Having thus glanced at the peculiar *Dogmas* of this Triumvirate, viz. NICHOLAS LEWIS Count ZINZENDORF, JACOB BEHMEN the German Enthusiast, and his fond Admirer Mr. LAW, I shall now proceed to give some additional Account of their Disciples the *Methodists*†; for these contributed to the Composition as well as Mr. WHITEFIELD and Mr. WESLEY. ——That many of them ran distracted by their frightful Gestures, Vociferation, and horrid Expressions, &c. is a Matter of Fact that admits of no Dispute. They will tell you, "That "their Madness is a Conviction of Sin‖." But they are not competent Judges in their own Case, more especially when they are supposed to be touched with the same Distemper. Thus much however they must and do own, that they have been looked upon as *mad* (on account of their wild and frantick Actions) by Friends and Relations, by indifferent Persons, by regular Physicians, the most proper Judges by the World in general, and have been sent to *Bedlam*, and adjudged there to be Persons distracted. Nor do I see how the *judicious* and *intelligent* Part of

* Spirit of Prayer, Part. II. p. 162, 163.
† All this is professedly borrowed from the *Comparison*, &c. and the Journalists.
‖ *West.* Journ. III. p. 83.

of the World can form any other Notion, while the genuine Signs of Madness are upon the Methodists; and the most absurd, irregular, and frantick Behaviour and Imaginations are obtruded as the Marks and Proof of true Piety.——One would not indeed believe the Report raised by the *Devil* that Mr. WHITEFIELD was mad, because he is the Father of Lies: Yet we may believe *himself*, when he says, *He might very well be taken to be really mad, and that his Relations counted his Life Madness**. Is it not a strange Sort of Conviction that *deprives* People of their Senses, instead of bringing them into their Senses? An Inhabitant of *Tanfield*, (a Town in *Richmondshire*) who had received a Sense of *the Love of God* a few Days before, (as is alledged) came riding thro' the Town, hallooing and shouting, *God had told him he should be a King, and should tread his Enemies under his Feet*†.

An itinerant Preacher in his Sermon assured the Hearers, *That the World would be at an End on such a Day*. Thereupon an Old Man gave such Credit to that Prophecy, as to neglect his Fences, turned his Cattle into his growing Corn, and made no Preparation for any Tillage for the ensuing Year, as being wholly taken up in fitting himself for the Day of Judgment; the Expectation of which giving the *Man* and his *Wife* no small Anxiety, one Morning an Apprentice who lived in the Family informed the Man, that he had had a Vision in the Night, which told him that, if he would submit to it, his Sins should be expiated by *Scourging*, and that he himself was deputed by the Vision to inflict that Punishment upon him. The Old Man complied; and the Apprentice gave him Forty Stripes save one on the bare Buttocks with a Bundle of Willow-rods. And a Second Vision directed the Apprentice to inflict another Kind of Penance on the Old Lady, by Fire and Water, which she *likewise* readily submitted to. Notwithstanding all these Delusions, and the Old Man had out-lived the Day of Judgment at least Three Years, (but the Old Woman was dead) the Old Man and Apprentice continued as rigid *Methodists* as before‖. Thus it appears what Force the Methodistical Impostures of false Prophets have in turning the Brain, and of how little Avail is *manifest Failure of Prediction* (or any other Argument) to recover an Enthusiast to his Senses; as a very remarkable Instance was given in the Account of the *French Prophets*, particularly in Sir R. BULKLEY, and JOHN sirnamed LACY.

There is no attending the Progress of Methodism without rgaing

* I. Dealings. p. 42.
† Comparison, Part 3. p. 16.
‖ *Comparis.* Part. 3. p. 19, 20.

raking into the shocking and horrible Things belonging to the History of this strange Sect, which is indeed but the *Revival* of several Enthusiastick Notions, and mad Pranks, among the several Sectaries of the last Century; such as their Crying out, Screaming, Roaring, Groanings, Trembling, Yelling, Convulsions, Swooning, Blasphemies, Curses, despairing Agonies, and Variety of Tortures in Body and Mind.

Of all these Mr. WESLEY and Mr. WHITEFIELD give particular Instances scattered throughout their Journals. 'A Woman suddenly cried out (says Mr. WESLEY) as in the Agonies of Death, continued so for some Time with all the Signs of the sharpest Anguish*. One felt, as it were, the Piercing of a Sword, and could not avoid crying even in the Street---One cried out aloud with the utmost Vehemence, even as in the Agonies of Death---Two others constrained to roar, seized with great Pain---Another as out of the Belly of Hell---A young Man, suddenly seized with a violent Trembling all over, sunk down to the Ground.---They dropped down on every Side as Thunder-struck.'—— With a great deal more of the same Stamp.

And Mr. WHITEFIELD follows in the same Strain. 'As I was preaching, (says he) Four Persons sunk down almost in the same Moment: One lay without Sense or Motion; a Second trembled exceedingly; a Third had strong Convulsions all over his Body; another, struck through as it were with a Sword, fell trembling to the Ground in Crying and Pain for Twelve or Fourteen Hours.---Many roared, utterly refusing to be comforted.---Some strangely torn by the Devil. ---A young Woman on the Bed, two or three Persons holding her: Anguish, Horror, and Despair, above all Description, in her pale Face! A Thousand Distortions shewed how the *Dogs of Hell* were gnawing her Heart: Her Shrieks not to be endured: She screamed out, *I am damn'd, damn'd, and lost for ever!*---Another Woman lay on the Ground, furiously gnashing her Teeth, roaring aloud; not easy for three or four Persons to hold her; sometimes screaming, then breaking out into a horrid Laughter, mixed with Blasphemy and Curses.'

This Account is transcribed *Verbatim*, in the very Words of the Two Journalists: And it is really amazing to what End they produce such a particular List, and a great many more than I have transcribed! They pretend, indeed, that these boisterous Proceedings, Convulsions, Screaming, &c. are the Signs of Conversion, and the Pangs of the New-birth; as the *French*

* Journ. III. p. 23.

Prophets did interpret the like violent Symptoms to be the Prelude of Inspiration, and, I suppose, with equal Success and Probability, as the Event did demonstrate.——Besides many other orthodox and eminent Divines that I could name, the judicious and learned Mr. LESLY has a Remark very pertinent to this our Subject: *It is observed*, says he, *that neither the* Apostles, *or any other recorded in the* Holy Scriptures, *were converted to* Christianity *by such Violence and monstrous Sort of* Convulsions *in their Bodies. These are the* Transports *of* Furies: *But the* Spirit *of the* Gospel *is all* Meekness, Sobriety, *and* Gravity*. *N. B.* Here are Three different Sects, lately sprung up, viz. the *Quakers*, the *French Prophets*, and the *Methodists*, unanimous in their Verdict, that violent *Agitations*, *Screaming*, &c. are the Effect of the Divine Spirit in working *Conversion*, &c. But I am really persuaded, that the *Single* Testimony of such a good Judge of the Matter as is Mr. LESLY will abundantly over-balance the Enthusiastick Conceit of all *Three*.

Mr. WHITEFIELD indeed, at first, had some Objections against these unnatural Contortions and Screaming, yet at last, being convinced by Mr. WESLEY's Arguments, is afterwards full of the same dreadful Cries, Convulsions, and other Bodily Tortures, attending his Sermons. And Mr. WESLEY (notwithstanding his being for some Time somewhat upon the Reserve) does very often make his Boast, that by the Intercession of his Prayers those Disorders were removed, Devils dispossessed; and many of his Cures are said by him to be *instantaneous*, relieved in Body and Mind in a Moment: And he does arrogantly assume to himself the Name of a Prophet; for thus he writes, "That, a Woman who was a Sinner having lent "him a convenient Place for Preaching, he thus declares unto "her, *Thou hast received a Prophet in the Name of a Prophet*, "*and art found of him that sent him*†. Yea, he gives several Instances of wonderful and extraordinary Signs done by him: "As I was expounding, says he, the 12th of the *Acts*, a *Young* "*Man*, with some others, rushed in, cursing and swearing "vehemently, and so disturbed all near him, insomuch that "they *turned him out of Doors*. I observed it, and called to "*let him in*, that our Lord might *bid his Chains fall off*. As "soon as the Sermon was over he declared he was now resolved to have the *Lord for his God*.‖"——In another Place he gives the following Instance of his exorcising the Devil out of one

* Defence of the *Snake in the Grass*, Part I. p. 38.
† Journal III. p. 112.
‖ Journal IV. p. 58.

one possessed: 'A certain Man of a regular Life,' (whom he does name by the two first initial Letters of his Name) 'constantly attending the Publick Prayers and Sacraments, zealous 'for the Church, laboured above measure to convince his Acquaintance that the *Methodists'* falling into strange Fits at 'the Societies was a Delusion of the Devil. We were going 'home, when one informed us that the *said Man* was fallen '*raving mad.* It seems he had been at a *Sermon* on Salvation 'by *Faith alone*; on which he fell from his Chair, and began 'to scream terribly, &c. I came in, and found him on the 'Floor; the Room full of People, whom his Wife would 'have kept out, but he cried with a loud Voice, *No, let them* '*all come in, let all the World see the just Judgment of God.* 'Then, fixing his Eyes upon me, (says our Author) he cried, '*Ah! this is he who I said was a Deceiver of the People; but* '*God has overtaken me.*——We betook ourselves to Prayer, his 'Pangs ceased, and both Body and Soul were set at Liberty.' * ——This is a notable Story, by which we may observe of what dangerous Consequence it is to offend the Methodists, and that no Regularity of Life, or Attendance on the most Sacred Ordinances, will satisfy them, if one should rashly judge that *Methodism* is a *Delusion.*

It were abundantly too tedious to copy all the Instances our Author is pleased to acquaint the World with of his dispossessing the Devil, and healing all Manner of Disorders by his prevailing Prayers. Yea, he makes the Devil to be so sharp-sighted as to espy him at a Distance: *I was sent for to* Kingswood, says he, *to one that was in great Agonies. A violent Rain began just as I set out, so that I was thoroughly wet in a few Minutes. The Woman, then Three Miles off, cried out,* Yonder WESLEY comes galloping as fast as he can. *In the mean time the* Devil *tormented her beyond Expression, such as Words cannot describe; but after* Prayer, *and* exorcising the evil Spirit, *both Body and Soul were healed* †. By this it is apparent that Mr. WESLEY does, or very late did, assume a Power of Healing, and to cast out Devils, as much as any Primitive Apostle.

It is a controverted Point among the Methodists, Whether Bodily Concussions and Screaming are the Effect of the *Blessed Spirit*, or the Buffetings of *Satan.* Mr. WHITEFIELD seems to maintain, that it is the Operation of *Satan*; and Mr. WESLEY contends, that it is the wholsome Effect of the Spirit of Grace: But the Two Antagonists (if they are really such) yet contrive the Matter very well; for it is necessary *sometimes* that

* *Journ. III. p. 44.*
† *Journ. III. p. 94.*

the Bleſſed Spirit ſhould be the Cauſe of theſe violent Agitations, that thoſe who are weak might not be offended; and it is equally neceſſary *ſometimes* alſo that the evil Spirit ſhould be the Cauſe, to ſhew what an *Enemy* he is to *Methodiſm*, in thus diſparaging God's Work, and deſigning to affright People from it; and eſpecially it muſt be the *Devil*'s Work, that Mr. WESLEY might have the Honour of *ejecting* him, and gain a Reverence for his miraculous Cures. *

But the boiſterous Manner of Delivery ſo much affected by the Methodiſt-preachers, as the Sons of BOANERGES, may with great Juſtneſs and Propriety be adjudged the principal Cauſe of all theſe Diſorders, viz. their Roaring, Yelling, bodily Concuſſions and Agonies. Let no one be ſtartled; I ſay again, they are the Cauſe, the inſtrumental Cauſe, of all theſe Perturbations and amazing Symptoms: And indeed they make it a Matter of high Boaſting and Exultation! And it is obſerved, that when *one* falls into *Fits*, or *ſcreams*, it affects the reſt by Sympathy; or quickly *one* after *another*, as it were by Contagion. The Two *Journaliſts* are full of ſuch Accounts, more replete with ſuch Stories indeed than even GEORGE FOX his Journal about the the Progreſs of *Quakeriſm*.——It hath been conſtantly obſerved of Superſtition and Enthuſiaſm, more eſpecially the latter, that they are very *catching*, and *infectious*, running like Wild-fire from Boſom to Boſom.——Nor is it ſtrange that this ſhould be the Caſe, when the Company are of the ſame Caſt and Complexion, of the ſame Turn of Mind, the ſame Temper and Diſtemper. †

Perſons of bad Principles will be fond of mingling with an Enthuſiaſtick Sect.——As for Inſtance, *Hypocrites*, who, laying hold of devout *Appearances*, and high Pretenſions to Religion, are deſirous to paſs upon the World for *Saints*, in order to deceive more effectually.——Perſons of a vain and ambitious Mind, who love to be *Some-body* in a new Diſpenſation that makes a little Noiſe in the World, and knowing how unable they are to make a Figure elſewhere, muſt needs be at the Head of a ſeparating Party, or a Sect; or elſe from mere *Conceitedneſs* will ſet up to be Teachers, or Expounders. ‖——Mr. WESLEY, from a ſeeming Renunciation of Miracles at his firſt ſetting out, yet in fact makes a full Claim to them, as is evident from the above Particulars quoted out of his Journals: Some of his Cures are plainly declared to be *miraculous*, and other repreſented with ſuch a miraculous Air as can't fail of getting Belief

* Compariſ. Part. III. p. 142.
† *Ibid.* p. 178.
‖ *Ibid.* p. 202.

lief among his credulous Followers.——If Mr. WESLEY hath actually performed some *miraculous Cures* seemingly so, and removed from many of his Followers the most horrible Disorders, as he is pleased to relate, let him remember that he brought these Calamities upon them himself (unless *Satan* bear a Part) by the Force of his boisterous Eloquence in bewildering the Judgment.

They make *Regeneration*, or the New-birth, to be Two-fold, a lesser and a greater. Regeneration in the higher Sense of the Word is a thorough inward Change, by the Love of God shed abroad in the Heart: In the lower Sense it is obtaining Remission of Sin.——Now, before one does arrive to a Perfection in this blessed State, he must undergo a very severe Trial; for, according to their Description of the Matter, the *Pangs* of the New-birth are Doubts and Fears, and strong Temptations; Ferments and Agonies like of a Woman in Travail. They feel Terrors, Despondencies, Spiritual Desertions; yea, they feel as it were the Pains of Hell. But as to himself, Mr. WESLEY makes but a short Work of it; for he says, "he was in a "violent Agony for about *Four Hours*, and then began to feel "that he was born of God.*" But, in the general, it is accompanied with a horrible Dread, Despair, and Perturbations of Mind, for a long Continuance. Hence Mr. WESLEY describeth the several Cryings-out, Roaring, Yelling, &c. with unutterable Agonies of Mind and Body.——Thus, among the *Papists*, S. TERESA was placed in Hell by our Lord to see the Torments of the Damned. The Entrance is a narrow, dark Furnace. All the most acute Pains that the Devils could invent were as nothing to the Agonies she did undergo at her Regeneration: Her Legend says expresly that she felt a desperate and torturing Discontent and Disgust before the Work of Regeneration was complete. †

They are represented to undergo several Purgations and Lustrations 'e're the New-birth is quite formed. Most of them feel as it were a burning Fire within them; and so Mr. WESLEY interprets the Text, *Pet.* iv. 12. concerning the *fiery Trial*, to the Agonies and Torments that burn within them like Fire in forming the New-birth, and not meant of Persecutions, as some *ignorant* Commentators expound‖. When this severe Penance is at an End, then indeed they have the Favour of being told by their Teachers that they are then *regenerate* and *incorruptible*; and those that have the strongest Fancy, the boldest

* Journ. III. p. 18.
† Comparif. 286.
‖ *Ibid.* p. 296.

boldest Imagination and Presumption, will soonest believe and be deceived. *

Sometimes we are told, that they have Intervals and Vicissitudes of Light and Darkness, alternate Risings and Fallings, Spiritual Joy and Desertions; sometimes they are said, in high, figurative Expressions, to *ride triumphantly* with CHRIST in his Chariot, then move heavily when he taketh off his Chariot-Wheels; one Time are carried up to Heaven, and down again to Hell: But, after a great Struggle and Combating with this alternate Course, then the Matter begins to mend, and they fall into Extacies, Visions, and Revelations.

This so extraordinary *Apparatus* may be parallelled by numerous Instances among the *Popish* Saints and Saintesses, more especially the *Founders* of the several *Orders*; and, which is also pretty remarkable, it answers very nigh, as Face to Face in a Mirror, to the Description given of the New-birth by the surly and morose Zealots that were so stanch for the Kirk and Covenant in *Scotland*: And it is *likewise* almost the same in Substance with what the most Reverend Dr. SHARP, Archbishop of *York*, gives of the rigid *Presbyterians*, their Descendants, in *England*. I shall here annex the Description in the Words of his *Grace*: 'There is nothing more usual, among those that delight to lay 'down a great Number of Marks of Conversion, than to 'frame a solemn Description of the Manner of it, and to de- 'liver the particular Way and Method in which it proceeds. 'And here usually they first bring in a Soul very careless and 'and regardless of his Eternal Interest, and very secure in his 'own Way, though it be a bad one. Afterward they make 'this Person, either by some convincing Sermon he hath heard, 'or some reasonable Advice he hath had from some pious 'Friend, or by some Affliction or Judgment that God hath 'been pleased to visit him with, or, lastly, by some extraordi- 'nary Providence in some other Way, I say, by some or all of 'these Means, to be deeply awakened to a Sense of his former 'Sins, and of the dangerous State he is in upon the Account 'of them. And the first Effects that these warm Convictions 'do work upon him are very terrible: He thinks himself in a 'fearful and damnable Condition; he looks upon himself as a 'lost, undone Man; he hath the Terrors of the Law so deep- 'ly set home to his Spirit, that he can find Comfort no where; 'and, though he turn himself all Ways imaginable, yet still 'he is a forlorn, miserable Creature. After he hath lain some 'Time under these Terrors and Affrightments, and even upon 'the Brink of Desperation, it pleaseth God at length, by his 'Spi-

* Comparis. p. 299.

'Spirit, to break through this Cloud, and to dart ſome Beams 'of Light and Comfort into his Conſcience. Finding himſelf 'to be loſt every other Way, he is at laſt directed to fix upon 'JESUS CHRIST as the only Anchor of his Hope; to cloſe 'with him, to apply his Merits and Righteouſneſs to himſelf: 'And, upon this, he lays hold on the Promiſes; and, re-'nouncing all his own Works, and all his own Righteouſneſs, 'and perfectly going out of himſelf, he relies and depends upon 'JESUS CHRIST, and him only: And this cloſing with, and 'reſting upon, JESUS CHRIST, is that juſtifying, ſaving Faith 'upon account of which God accepts and approves of him.

'This is the ordinary Proceſs of Converſion, as you ſome-'times find it delivered in Books. I do not repreſent it with a 'Deſign to expoſe it; for really this is ſometimes the Method 'by which Men are converted. But yet this I ſay, That, if 'this Kind of Proceeding be ſet down either as a neceſſary 'Mark, or as a certain Mark, whereby Men are to judge of 'their Regeneration, it will fail in both theſe Reſpects, and be 'found no Mark at all; for it will either diſcover too much or 'too little: For it is certain a great many very pious and reli-'gious Perſons never came to that good Eſtate they are now in 'by any ſuch Methods as we have been now ſpeaking of: They 'were never exerciſed in ſuch a boiſterous Manner with the 'Terrors of the Law; they were never in ſuch a deſpairing 'Condition; and that Satisfaction and Peace of Mind they 'now enjoy, and that good Hope they have of God's Favour, 'never arrived to them in ſuch a Way and Method as I have 'been deſcribing.

'And then, in the Second Place, theſe Marks of Regeneration 'cannot be conſtantly true ones, becauſe a great many have 'felt in themſelves all that I have now mentioned, and yet fall 'ſhort of it. There is no doubt but a very bad Man may have 'had all theſe Convictions upon his Mind of his Sin, and the 'Danger we have now repreſented; nay, and all that diſclaim-'ing of his own Righteouſneſs, and cloſing with CHRIST's Pro-'miſes; and yet for all this he may not be a Regenerate Perſon. '——He may ſtill continue under the Slavery of Sin and evil 'Habits. Tho' he had a warm Senſe of Religion at the firſt, 'yet that Senſe, in Tract of Time, and upon the Recourſe of 'Temptations, may wear off; and the Man at laſt comes to 'ſatisfy himſelf, that, if he do but ſtill reſt on JESUS CHRIST, 'this will be accepted of God, tho' yet he lives in a Courſe of 'Sin, and hath not truly mortified any one carnal or worldly 'Luſt that formerly reigned over him.'*

This

* Abp. *Sharp*'s Sermons. Vol. III. p. 302, &c. Ed. 2.

This is that eminent Divine, then but Rector of St. *Giles's*, who (among a great many others) in the Reign of K. JAMES II. made such a noble Stand against Popery, when a furious Attack, like an impetuous Torrent, was making upon our Rights, Civil and Religious; while in the mean Time the *Presbyterians* fawned upon that arbitrary Prince with the highest Strain of Rhetorick. Not a Soul of them drew his Pen in Favour of the *Protestant Cause*, that was then in such imminent Danger, when the King broke thro' the Test-act by the Force of his Dispensing Power. They all stood mute to a Man. *Mute* did I say? No, I retract the Word. Mr. LOB, a leading Man among them, and a prime Teacher, was so elated with his Interest at Court, that he grew *insolent*, and indeed was no less bloody-minded than the most bigot Papist: He was no less eager to persecute the Bishops than Father PETER the King's Confessor, as is expressly affirmed by Bishop BURNET * and the rest of the Historians of that Time.——While the Bishops and Episcopal Clergy were continually harrassed, and threatened with Loss of Life and Livelihood, for adhering so stedfastly to their Principles, and writing so gallantly in Defence of their Religion, the *Dissenters* were caressed; upon which they sent Address upon Address to compliment the King on his assuming a Dispensing Power; and constantly, as it was in fact, *they* and the *Papists* were the only Court-favourites, made Justices, and Judges, and Magistrates, all over the Kingdom.——When there is no Danger in the Case, then we shall have Lectures at *Salter's-hall* against Popery; in a Sunshine the *Presbyterians* will exert their languid Talents: But, *when Tribulation or Persecution arises because of the Word, by and by they are offended.* Math. xiii. 21. Thus the *Serpent* and other *venemous Vermin* are *subtilier* than the other Beasts of the Field; for in hard Weather they are not to be found upon the Face of the Earth, but are crept into their Holes; but, when a warm Season comes, they crawl out, and snap at the Heels of those that had endured the Severity of the Winter.

The *Presbyterians* can't endure to be told such a grating Story, so much to their Disrepute; as if, forsooth, this had been the *only* general Blur upon their Character! They would fain shift off the Scandal, and pretend, 'That the Reason why they 'made no better Figure in the *Popish* Controversy at the latter 'End of K. CHARLES the Second his Reign, and the Begin-'ning of K. JAMES, was this, that the Licensers of the 'Press absolutely refused to license their Books.'——But this is entirely false; and there can be no better Proof of the Matter than

* History of his own Times, abridged, p. 353.

than the concurrent Testimonies of the very learned and worthy Persons that were Chaplains to the then Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *London*, whose Province it was to license Books for the Press, viz. Dr. MAURICE, Dr. ISHAM, Dr. ALSTON, Dr. BATTELEY, and Mr. NEEDHAM; and they do all unanimously attest, that never a Dissenter brought them any of their Books on that Subject to be licensed: So that, if we give any Credit to the joint Testimonies of these Great Men, the Presbyterians had no Courage at all to be meddling with such critical Points in so dangerous a Conjuncture*:——They (good Men) chose rather to sleep in a whole Skin, which they did with a Witness by complimenting the unhappy Prince in most of his arbitrary Proceedings; whose complete Ruin, as well as that of the Royal Martyr his Father, was owing jointly to Papists and Presbyterians.——But, when he was gone off, and another upon the Throne, then, being out of Harm's Way, they could call Names to some Purpose: Then K. JAMES (but not 'till then) was a bloody Tyrant, a Popish Bigot, a Limb of Anti-Christ, and an Imp of the Devil.

——*Pudet hæc opprobria* vobis,
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.

N. B. The Popish and Puritan Notion of the New-birth has carried me somewhat beyond my intended Subject. I shall say no more, but that, as Imposture and Hypocrisy are sooner or later detected, however disguised or masked, so *Methodism*, no[illegible]anding the Appearance of Sanctity for a Time, has been dis[illegible] a Composition of very dangerous Ingredients, and is now [illegible] every where out of Date.

* *Vid.* [illegible]'s Answer to *Neal*, p. 424, &c. where this Matter is discussed at large.

T CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of Real and Pretended Inspiration. Instances of both. The Sibylline Oracles. The Dæmon of SOCRATES. *Of the Heathen Oracles. The pretended Inspiration of the* Quakers, *and of Madam* ANTHONIETTA BOURIGNON. *Several Instances of pretended Inspiration, and of the Power of working Miracles among the* Scotch *Covenanters.*

THE Methods whereby God Almighty has been pleased to discover himself to Holy Men of old are very different; sometimes by an external Voice, sometimes by an Appearance to the Senses and Imagination, and sometimes by immediately affecting and influencing the Soul and Understanding. ——Of the first Kind we have several Instances in Holy Writ: Among the rest is God's calling audibly on SAMUEL, when yet a Child, when it was foretold him concerning the Fate and Destiny of ELI the High Priest. Some do suppose that the Voice which SAMUEL heard was not like the natural Voice of ELI, when he got up and went into his Apartment in the Night-time: But, when it is said, that *Samuel did not know the Lord*, the Meaning is, he was not yet acquainted with the Method whereby God was pleased to reveal himself to the Prophets; when (as some of the *Rabbins* inform us) "a "certain Apparition, or the Image of a Man or Angel re- "presented itself to their Imagination; sometimes it began "with a Voice, and that either strong or vehement; or else "soft and familiar*." What Truth there is in this *Rabbinical* Tradition I know not; but the *Hebrew* Doctors believe it: But, as to the other Opinion, That, whenever the Almighty does vouchsafe to speak to Man, the Voice is *then* peculiar, and has no Resemblance with the Human, the most learned Bishop PATRICK seems to be of another Mind; for in this very Instance he says, *It is probable the Voice was like that of* ELI†.

Of the Second Sort of Communion with God (to omit others) was the Vision that appeared to PAUL in the Night; *for there stood* [as seemed to him] *a Man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying, Come over into Macedonia and help us*, Acts [xvi. 9. And then the Apostle, without any Manner of Hesitation, resolves to make a Journey thither, assuredly gathering, that the Lord had called him to preach the Gospel in that

* Vid. Smith's Select Discourses, p. 102.
† Patrick in Loc.

that Province.——The Third Kind, whereby the Lord does vouchsafe in an *extraordinary Manner* to communicate the Light of his Spirit, is, by immmediately affecting the Soul and Understanding, which is more especially termed Inspiration. *The Prophecy came not of old Time by the Will of Man; but holy Men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*; 2. Pet. i. 21. Hence we may learn that no Part of Holy Scripture was written by any *private* Impulse, Incitation, or Motion, and by no Suggestion of *Men's own private* Spirits; but they gave *out* to us what the Holy Ghost gave *in* to them: Nor did they prophesy according to the *Will of Man*; that is, when they would at Command; but they spake by the peculiar Instinct and Impulse of the Holy Ghost.

Now, in this last Acceptation of the Word *Inspiration*, it may be defined to be a "Divine Influx on the Soul, wherein "the Person is wholly passive; the Blessed Spirit working upon "his Understanding irresistibly and authoratatively, carrying "along with it its own Demonstration."

There is no Manner of Doubt of it, but that a great many, more especially of the *Gnosticks*, pretended to real Inspiration in the Apostolical Age, notwithstanding they were in fact but mere *Impostors*. Hence it is that St. JOHN the Divine gives a Caution to all the Christians of his Time (and indeed to all Christians of the succeeding Ages) to take Heed of being seduced by such as should pretend to be inspired by the Holy Spirit of God, saying, *Beloved, believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits, whether they are of God, because many false Prophets are gone into the World.* 1. John, iv. 1.——From which Words that Great Man, Archbishop TILLOTSON, very naturally makes the following Inferences. (1.) 'That Men may, and often do, falsly 'pretend to Inspiration. And this is the Reason upon which the 'Apostle grounds this Exhortation; *Because many false Prophets* 'are gone out into the World; therefore we should try who are 'true, and who are false. (2.) *We are not to believe every one* 'that pretends to be inspired, and to teach a Divine Doctrine. 'This follows upon the former: Because Men may falsly pre-'tend to Inspiration, therefore we are not to believe every one 'that makes this Pretence; for any Man that hath but Confi-'dence enough, and Conscience little enough, may pretend to 'come from God: And, if we admit of all Pretences of this 'Kind, we lie at the Mercy of every crafty and confident Man 'to be led by him into what Delusions he pleaseth. (3.) *Neither* 'are we to reject all that pretend to come from God. This is 'sufficiently implied in the Text; for, when the Apostle says, 'Believe not every Spirit, he supposeth we are to believe *some*;

'and, when he saith, *Try the Spirits whether they be of God*, he 'supposeth some to be of God, and that those which are so 'are to be believed. (4.) *That there is some Way to discern mere 'Pretenders to Inspiration from those who are truly and divinely 'inspired.* And this is necessarily implied in the Apostle's bidding 'us to *try the Spirits whether they are of God*; for it were in 'vain to make any Trial if there were no Ways to discern be-'tween pretended and real Inspirations.' *

N. B. Mr. BURKIT, (who was certainly a very good Man) in his Annotations on the New-Testament, does borrow all these Observations, and transcribes them with very little Variation, (unless sometimes a Curtailing of them) without any Mention of the Archbishop; as indeed he generally does upon every Text of the New-Testament in so many express Words that *his Grace* pitched upon for a Subject of his admirable Discourses, as any one by comparing both may easily discover. Is it not then a Wonder that Mr. WHITEFIELD, who pays such a Deference and Respect to Mr. BURKIT, yet, in his rash and intemperate Zeal, does esteem the good Archbishop no more a Christian than a *Turk*; from whom, notwithstanding, Mr. BURKIT does borrow the very best of his pious Remarks! But I suppose he was ignorant of this, notwithstanding all his Pretence to Inspiration, yea to *extraordinary* Inspiration, as we have too many Instances of it in his vain-glorious and fantastick *Journals*.

What raised the Anger and Inveteracy of the *Methodists* against this admirable and pious Divine I am not able to determine: *I know* he is generally persecuted; and I heard some of them say that he was no better than an *Atheist*; which has the same Resemblance of Truth that the *Presbyterians* cast on his *quandam* Predecessor Archbishop LAUD, that he was altogether a *Papist*. But the excellent Writings of the one and the other do sufficiently clear them from this foul Calumny. But it is a Part of some Men's Religion (at least of their Practice) to revile and traduce Men of an eminent Station, who are infinitely their Superiors, as well in Point of Learning and Knowledge as also in Authority and Jurisdiction.

But, if I may offer my Conjecture, I do imagine that one principal Reason (besides his exalted Station in the Church) why Archbishop TILLOTSON fell under the Displeasure of our Modern Enthusiasts was such Positions as these in his Sermons '† Great Zeal about little and doubtful Things is an Argument 'of a weak Mind infatuated by Superstition, or over-heated by 'Enthusiasm †'. And elsewhere thus, after he had been dis-

courses

* *Tillotson's Sermons*, Vol. I. Ed. 9. Lond. 1701. Fol. p. 223.
† Serm. cxl. Vol. III. 1. mo. p. 39.

coursing at large of too many that have the *Form of Godliness, but deny the Power of it*, 2. Tim. iii, 5. he then adds, 'And, 'tho' Things have been much better since that happy Reformation from the Corruptions and Errors of *Popery*, yet, even among *Protestants*, the Malice and Craft of the *Devil* hath prevailed so far as to undermine in a great measure the *Necessity of a good Life* by those *luscious* Doctrines of the *Antinomians* concerning *Free Grace*, and the Justification of a Sinner, merely upon a confident Persuasion of his being in a State of Grace and Favour with God, and consequently that the Gospel dischargeth Men from Obedience to the Laws of God, and all Manner of Obligation to the Virtues of a good Life: Which Doctrines, how false and absurd soever in themselves, and pernicious in their Consequence, did not only prevail very much in *Germany* a little after the Beginning of the Reformation, but have since got too much Footing in other Places, and been too far entertained and cherished by some good Men, who were not sufficiently aware of the Error and Danger of them.' This, in all Likelihood, and some other like sound and orthodox Divinity, gave Offence to WHITEFIELD, so as to maintain in Print, and again to vindicate his Assertion, that Archbishop TILLOTSON knew no more of Christianity than a *Turk* or a *Mahometan*.

But to return to my more immediate Subject of Inspiration. ——In the Class of *real and divine* Inspiration there is no Doubt but that the primary Rank is due to the holy *Prophets* of old, and the *Apostles* of our Blessed Saviour. Nor were the extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit confined to the Apostles and their first Converts; but the succeeding Ages (whilst Christianity remained pure and uncorrupt) were abundantly blessed with the like Divine Favour, not much inferior to that of the first Christians, as is very evident from the early Writers of the Primitive Church. The late Dr. CONYERS MIDLETON (as his Manner was to be *singular* in most Things) would fain obtrude upon the World that Miracles and the extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit intirely ceased after the Apostles' Days; and, to make good his Allegation, his Method is to asperse and calumniate the Fathers of the Church, that they were weak and silly People, too credulous and apt to be imposed upon.——It is a hard Matter indeed to prove a Negative; and therefore, besides his *Ipse dixit*, Ridicule and Banter is his only Proof.---And, further to depreciate them, he boldly asserts, *that the several Apologies wrote in Defence of Christianity were mean Performances*, and unlikely ever to *be perused by the* Roman *Emperors*, to whom they *are dedicated*; *as unlikely*, says he, *to be regarded as if* one

of

of our Methodists *should write an Apology, and dedicate it to the King of* England.——The Doctor should know that this Representation is entirely false; or else he did abominably prevaricate, and stifle the Truth.——JUSTIN MARTYR wrote two Apologies, the first dedicated to ANTONINUS PIUS and the *Roman* Senate, and the other to M. ANTONINUS VERUS; and he had so good Success, in stating the Case before the Emperor and Senate, as to put a Stop to the Persecution that was then just breaking out against the Church.——And QUADRATUS, Bishop of *Athens*, in an excellent Apology that he presented to the Emperor ADRIAN, (who was the immediate Predecessor of M. ANTONINUS PIUS) had so good Effect, that the Emperor sent his *Rescript* to all Governors of Provinces, commanding a Stop to be put to the Persecution against the Christians*. This is a sufficient Evidence that Dr. MIDLETON did wilfully prevaricate; for it is not to be supposed that a Man of his Reading did it ignorantly.

If any of the Heathen World may put in a Claim to this special Privilege of Inspiration, we may suppose that the *Sibyls*, and the devout SOCRATES, bid the fairest for such a Divine Gift.——The *Sibyls* were thought to be inspired in the Age they lived in, and by most of the Primitive Fathers of the Christian Church.——The *original* Volume of their inspired Writings perished (it must be allowed) at the burning of the Capitol; but a few Transcripts, or at least some Fragments, were copied notwithstanding by the Curious, and preserved, before that fatal Accident: And, in Process of Time, all these Remains were collated with great Care and exactness. TACITUS says expressly, that the College of Priests were appointed by the Senate to revise and distinguish between what was the *genuine* Work of the *Sibyls* and that which was the *counterfeit*; who did, as he says, *quantum humana ope potuissent*, as carefully and exactly as possible, weigh this Point†. Yea, and as late as the Time of AUGUSTUS, because that many Oracles were pretended to be in divers Hands, he decreed, that a general Scrutiny should be made to examine into the Matter; when, in a solemn Convention, above 2000 of the spurious and counterfeit Kind, that had no Stamp of Antiquity to vouch for their Credit, were ordered to be burnt, and those only to be preserved and lodged in the *Capitol* that were adjudged to be the true and genuine *Sibylline* Oracles. ‖

They are without Dispute of very great Antiquity, as being presented

* *Euseb.* Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV. Cap. viii, ix.
† *Tacit.* Annal. Lib. VI.
‖ *Sueton.* Vit. August. Cæs.

presented to TARQUIN sirnamed the Proud, who was the Seventh King of *Rome* after ROMULUS, the first Founder of that famous City: Yea, and some maintain, that they are still somewhat more antient, and that SIBYLLA CUMANA made a Present of her Performances to TARQUINIUS PRISCUS*. The most eminent of the Antient Heathens looked upon these Oracles as extraordinary and supernatural: The Primitive Fathers of the Christian Church also had them in great Veneration; and often quoted Passages out of them in Confirmation of Christianity; particularly LACTANTIUS, who was Tutor to CONSTANTINE the Great his Son. Among other remarkable Expressions he argues thus: *The Heathens, when nonplussed with these Authorities, have Recourse to this Subterfuge, that these Verses were not true Sibylline Oracles, but forged by us Christians; which certainly no Man can fancy who diligently considers what* CICERO *and* VARRO, *and other Antients, have said of* ERYTHRÆA *and other Sibyls, from whom we extract our Quotations, who were dead before the Birth of our Saviour.* †

Our Modern Criticks are very much divided in their Sentiments: *Some* deride this whole Affair as false and spurious; while *others*, quite as grave and learned, are of a clean contrary Opinion. Of this latter Class I shall content myself with what the ingenious JAMES HOWELL, Esq; and Mr. Arch-deacon ECHARD, deliver about this important Point.——'In these 'peevish Times, which may be called the *Rust* of the Iron 'Age, (says Mr. HOWELL) there is a Race of cross-grained 'People, which are malevolent to all Antiquity. If they read 'an old Author, it is to quarrel with him. They slight the 'Fathers of the Primitive Times, and prefer JOHN CALVIN 'before them all. Among other Tenets of the first Times 'they hold the *Ten Sibyls* to be fictitious and fabulous, and no 'better than URGUNDA, or the *Lady of the Lake*. They stick 'not to term their Predictions of CHRIST to be mere Mock-'Oracles and odd Extravagancies: They cry out that they are 'forged, and obtruded on the World, by some officious 'Christians, to procure Credit and Countenance to their Reli-'gion among the Pagans.

'For my Part, (says the ingenious Author) I am not of this 'incredulous, perverse Race of Men; but what the concurrent 'Testimonies of the Primitive Times do hold forth, I give 'Credit thereunto without any Scruple.——Now, touching 'the Works of the *Sibyls*, they were in high Request among 'the

* Aul. Gell. Lib. I. Cap. ix.

† Lactant. Opr p. 338. Ed. Oxon. *N. B.* The above Translation is Mr. *Bayly*'s Essay, &c. p. 282.

'the Fathers of the first Four Centuries, insomuch that they 'used to urge their Prophecies for Conversion of Pagans.— 'They spake not, like the ambiguous Pagan Oracles, in 'Riddles, but so clearly that they sometimes go beyond the 'Jewish Prophets.——Nor did the *Christians* only value them; 'but the most learned among the *Ethnicks* had them in great 'Regard, as VARRO, LIVY, and CICERO; the First being 'the greatest *Antiquary*, the Second the greatest *Historian*, and 'the Third the greatest *Orator*, that *Rome* ever had.

'In fine, out of the Works of the *Sibyls* may be deduced a 'good Part of the Miracles and Sufferings of JESUS CHRIST: 'Therefore, for my Part, I will not cavil with Antiquity, or 'traduce the Primitive Church; but I think I may believe, 'without Danger, that these *Sibyls* might be select Instruments 'to anounce the Dispensations of Heaven to Mankind: Nor 'do I see how they do the Church of God any good Service, 'or Advantage at all, who question the Truth of their 'Writings, which have been handed over to Posterity as in-'controulable Truths for so many Ages. *

"The *Sibylline* Oracles, saith that Great Historian Mr. "ECHARD, have been very much questioned by some Modern "Criticks; yet they were never fully disproved, their Argu-"ments being rather Presumptions than Proofs†." And elsewhere he says, *That in the Reign of* TIBERIUS, *and the Third Year of our Saviour's Publick Ministry, a new Volume of the* Sibil-books *was received, and added to the rest, by the Senate of* Rome, *but not well relished by that Tyrant.*

I shall only add, that, whereas some object that the genuine Works of the *Sibyls* were carefully kept in the Capitol, and it cannot be supposed that any of the Fathers of the Church had Access to a Place that was so well guarded, it should be remembered, that before the last Collection made by the Command of AUGUSTUS, and in the Reign of his Successor TIBERIUS, some Fragments of the Orignal Copy were in a great many different Hands, and common enough: But suppose the contrary; yet LACTANTIUS sure, who lived at Court, could want no Opportunity, as we find Quotations out of the Sibylline Verses scattered through a great many Places of his Works. Yea, and the Emperor himself, CONSTANTINE the Great, in his *Oratio ad Cleros*, urges their Authority in favour of the Gospel, and makes a very good Comment, *a propos*, on the famous Eclogue of VIRGIL intitled *Pollio*; which surely has more

* *Howel's* Fam. Letters. B. IV. Lett. xliii. p. 491. Ed. 7.

† *Ech.* his Introduction to his Eccles. History, p. xxxv. and Hist. Book I. p. 151.

more Weight in it than all the faint and inconclusive Argumentation of Modern Criticks. *

As to SOCRATES, the wise *Athenian*, I shall take the Freedom to borrow what I have to say upon that Subject from the ingenious *Essay upon Inspiration*, wrote by the Rev. Mr. BAYLY, late Rector of St. *James*'s, in *Bristol*. All Antiquity informs us, *saith my Author*, that SOCRATES professed a Sort of Inspiration, to be attended with a familiar Spirit, or *Dæmon*, that forewarned him, upon some certain Occasions, of Danger to himself and others, or foretold him Things to come: And this was by a Sort of Voice he heard, or pretended to hear. What *Voice* this was, whether any Thing really *without* him, or only *internal* to his Mind, hath been a Matter of Dispute and Enquiry among Antients and Modern. Some of the latter are of Opinion, that there was nothing Supernatural in it, and that this *Voice* was nothing else but the last Result and Conclusion of his Understanding touching any Thing or Action that his Mind was conversant about; and this, *say they*, was common among the Philosophers, to call that Faculty of the Mind, which directed and governed the Man and his Actions, *Part of the Divinity*.

To this my Author rejoins, that neither ZENOPHON nor PLATO, who were acquainted as well as any with Terms in Use among the Philosophers, and their Doctrine of the Soul that it was *Part of the Divinity*, never in the least imagined that SOCRATES meant no more by his *Dæmon* than his own Natural Understanding. And besides, the Things attributed to this *Dæmon* will not consist with such an Opinion; for the Direction of this *Voice*, or *Dæmon*, was generally *Dehortatory*, i. e. never advised him to do any Thing by Way of Command, but only to refrain or desist from any Purpose on which Danger or ill Success would follow. Sometimes he heard a *Voice* which was a Warning to him to desist, and, when it regarded others, to caution them likewise against any further Proceeding. If he heard not the *Voice*, he judged favourably of the Action he was upon, and proceeded without any Dread of Danger.——When the *Voice* was prophetick, it was clear and express, and not at all equivocal; and the Event always verified the Prediction. All this was above Guesses and Conjectures; and thereupon my Author concludes that this *Voice*, or *Dæmon*, was beyond the Ken of Human Reason or Prudence, or the utmost Sagacity of Judgment.

No Man among the Heathens can in any Measure compare with SOCRATES either for the Justness of his Sentiments in regard to Virtue and Divine Things, or for Exactness and

* Oratio ad Cler. Cap. xviii. xix. xx. apud Euseb.

Exemplarineſs of Life.——Under his Inſtructions were formed a great many eminent Men, particularly XENOPHON and PLATO; in whoſe Writings are to be ſeen the moſt beautiful Strokes in Morality, the Sum and Perfection of the Heathen Senſe and Eloquence; and from which CICERO not only derived his choiceſt and moſt admired Paſſages of a God, a Providence, of Human Duties, of Laws, Government, Oeconomicks and Politicks; but by which he adjuſted and formed his very Language and Stile, and derived into his Dialogues much of the Eaſe, and Fluency, and Graces, wherewith they ſhine and charm all Readers who have a Taſte of the Sublime.

No Chriſtian, of the moſt exemplary Life and Talents, need at this Day be aſhamed of being the Author of thoſe excellent Diſcourſes that SOCRATES delivered to his Pupils on the Being of a God and Providence, as recorded by XENOPHON and PLATO, and DIOGENES LAERTIUS; for he was too modeſt to publiſh any Thing himſelf. How admirable are his Reaſons for endeavouring at conſummate Virtue and Perfection! which he makes to conſiſt in a Likeneſs and Similitude of God, and a Participation of the Divine Nature. Finally, how admirable indeed is his Notion as to the Principle and Origin of Virtue! that it is neither natural nor acquired, but derives itſelf from a higher Cauſe, from a Supernatural Influence of the Deity.——Now, upon theſe Accounts, my Author does, I think, very juſtly infer, that SOCRATES had a Supernatural Aſſiſtance to guide him: There is, ſays he, no Hereſy at all in ſuch an Imagination. *

The very Reverſe to this Divine Character is *that* of the Heathen *Oracles*, ſo famous of old, and ſo often mentioned by the moſt antient Writers, particularly by HERODOTUS, whom CICERO names the *Father* of Hiſtorians. There is a Diverſity of Opinion among the very Heathens touching the Veracity of the Anſwer delivered by the Oracles to the Perſon that conſulted them. That Sect of Philoſophers diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Stoicks* do all maintain it was Supernatural and real Inſpiration; particularly CHRYSIPPUS made a large Collection of their Diſcoveries and Predictions; but this voluminous Tract is now loſt, and we know nothing of it but ſome Fragments preſerved in the Writings of others. CICERO derides and makes a Jeſt of this Performance, and avers that it contained nothing but a Rhapſody of uncertain Predictions, either obſcure or ambiguous; or, if any hit the Mark, it was by mere Chance and Conjecture†. Yea, and long before CICERO, that Knot of

* Eſſay on Inſpiration. Part. II. p. 315, 329. Ed. II.

† *De. Divin. Lib.* II.

of Philosophers that were denominated *Academicks* gave no Manner of Credit to their pretended Inspiration, and exploded them altogether as mere Imposture and Priestcraft. Some of the Fathers of the Christian Church concur also in the last Opinion; but many are at a Stand whether to impute the Oracular Answer altogether to Artifice and Cunning, or in Conjunction with the Suggestions of an Evil Spirit. The Ambiguity and equivocal Answers are indeed a sufficient Indication that the whole Management was nothing else but Imposture and Collusion of Priests and Priestesses: Yet some Predictions and Discoveries are of such a Nature that a great many grave and learned Men do adjudge they can be nothing less than the Dictates of an Evil Spirit. In a Word, when the Oracles (as was the Case sometimes) commanded Human Sacrifices, yea, and occasionally to order the Person consulting to sacrifice his own Child, this savours more of *Diabolical* than Human Craft.

The only Objection of any Weight, that some of our Modern Criticks do alledge against the Supposition that the Devil acted a Part in these occult Transactions, is this, That Providence would not permit Mankind to be thus abused. But (says a very learned Writer) did not Providence permit particular Men to be possessed? Let them reconcile this to their Scheme of Providence if they can: I am sure the one is as disagreeable to their Apprehensions of it as the other; at least the Possession of particular Men being admitted will make way for the easy Belief of the other.——I think all Men must confess, that, in Delivery of those Oracles by which Idolatry was so much confirmed, there was a very great Abuse somewhere; and one would admire why it should be more consistent with Providence to permit the World to be abused by evil Priests than by evil Dæmons. *

I must now take a long Stride from the Heathen Oracles to some Modern Enthusiasts, of the present and last Century, who pretended to Inspiration, but hitherto have produced very slender Evidence of such a bold Claim. The Transition indeed is odious, since *these* call themselves *Christians*; yet, since we expressly read that false Prophets shall come in the latter Days, and deceive many under a Pretext of Godliness, they must be ranked under their proper Class.——I have spoken of the *Quakers*, and their idle Pretences to Revelation, in a distinct Chapter already, wherein I have made it evident, even from the Authority of their own Writers, that their first Appearance in the World was in the Year 1649, or 1650; when the Usur-

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* Essay on Inspiration, p. 305.

pation of the Commonwealth, founded on the Murder of an excellent King, became the Parent of numberless Evils both to Church and State: At what Time (says Mr. ECHARD) never was greater Licence and Extravagance in Spiritual Matters; Heresies and Blasphemies swelling against Heaven to a prodigious Height.——I shall take no further Notice of them at present than this, That, as the *Papists* maintain that the Scriptures are of no intrinsick Value without the Assistance of *Oral Tradition*, so the *Quakers* hold the same mean Opinion of the Sacred Writings without the Testimony of the *Light within*. The Papists do reckon that the Scripture of itself is a very precarious Rule, or scarce any Rule at all, of Faith and Practice, and bestow upon it, independent on Tradition, very coarse and scurrilous Language, as, *but Ink variously figured in a Book, unsensed Characters, as not having a certain Interpreter*: So that, according to this *Hypothesis*, there is no possible Way of conveying a Doctrine with Certainty and Security besides that of *Oral Tradition**. This is the Doctrine of *Papists*; and that of the *Quakers* is no less absurd and impious, viz. That the Scripture itself is to be tried by their *Light*, or Spirit. This is maintained by their prime and first-rate Authors. Hear what ROBERT BARCLAY saith, in his famous Book called the *Apology*, &c. (which may be called the *Bible* of the *Quakers*) in these Words: *The* Scriptures *are only a Declaration of the Fountain, and not the Fountain itself: Therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal Ground of all Truth and Knowledge, nor yet the Adequate Primary Rule of Faith and Manners*, &c. And again he saith, *They are to be esteemed a Secondary Rule, subordinate to the Spirit, from which they* receive all their Excellency and Certainty†. In consequence of which it is become an universal Quaker-principle, "That Saints are not to do *Duties* "by or from a Command *without*, but from a Command "*within*; and that a Command in Scripture is not a Command "to them 'till they have a Word *within* them to attest that "Command." Notwithstanding one shall meet often in their Writings that exalted Phrase, *Thus saith the Lord*, yet that Inspiration must needs be very coarse and tainted in the original Source, since the whole Model of their upstart Religion is nothing else but a Complication of antient Heresies, with some Improvements from the *Jesuits* to serve a Turn, their own private End and Interest.

As the pretended Inspiration of Madam ANTHONIETTA BOURIGNON, a *French* Lady, has made a great Noise in the World,

* Rule of Faith by Abp. *Tillotson*, Part I. Sect 2. 8.
† *Apology* for the People called Quakers, p. 296.

World, I ſhall give ſome additional Account to what was mentioned of her in the Preface. Her extravagant Opinions have been propagated in *England* with great Zeal; and Two eminent Divines, Mr. LESLEY and Mr. BAYLY, ſo often quoted, have been attacked, and that very rudely, by Zealots of her Party, for daring to write againſt her Novel Revelations and Spiritual Phrenzies. Among many other of her Partizans, I find that the famous Mr. LAW is ſtrongly attached to her Principles: And now I underſtand (which I did not know before, when I made mention of that Gentleman in the laſt Chapter) that it is from this gifted Lady that he has borrowed all his rare Sentiments and Whimſies about the Angelical Frame of ADAM's Body; the Power of begetting Children of himſelf without the Aſſiſtance of the other Sex; that he had ſinned before his Eating of the Forbidden Fruit; with ſome other Notions quite as extravagant*.——*Madam* is prolix in expatiating on theſe Heads, more eſpecially the Two Firſt; as, that ADAM was created with a luminous Body more tranſparent than Cryſtal; and, as to his Prolifick Ability, ſhe affirmeth that he had actually one Son in his State of Purity before the Formation of EVE; but does not give us a Sketch of his Hiſtory.——Mr. LAW indeed, I cannot tell for what Reaſon, has omitted this laſt Circumſtance, and ſome few others, as that ADAM could fly, and walk upon the Water as upon dry Ground; but in the main he follows his Guide very cloſe, and vaunts himſelf as if he had been the original Author of theſe crude Notions and Nonſenſe, which yet he is pleaſed to call *Sublime Truths*.

It is from the ſame inſpired Writings of Mrs. BOURIGNON that he borrowed the Plan of his *Chriſtian Perfection*, which inſiſts upon ſuch Auſterities and Mortifications of Life as to make ſuch a Scheme impracticable to ordinary Chriſtians. This has been compared by ſome to ſome *Publick Managers*, who, when they have a Mind to undermine a *Bill*, inſtead of oppoſing will join in it, but then carry it to ſuch Heights (which is called *Loading* of it) as to make it look ridiculous and impracticable.

I have but this to add, That, as CICERO remarks, *Nil tam abſurde dici poteſt quod non dicatur ab aliquo philoſophorum*, ſo it may be as truly ſaid, that, let an Enthuſiaſt, in the Fever of his Imagination, vent the groſſeſt Abſurdities, yet ſome of the ſame Frame and Caſt of Mind, in a Succeſſion of Time, will foſter them, and uſher them afreſh into the World as it were in a new Edition.

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* Eſſay on Inſpir. Part II. p. 344.

I have nothing to add to the *French Prophets*, or to the *Fifth-Monarchy* Principles, their peculiar Tenets being extinct, unless a Spice thereof still adheres to the *Cameronians*: Therefore I shall be a little prolix in this additional Account of them and their pretended Inspiration. They were not indeed so distinguished by the Name of *Cameronians* at that Period of Time I am now treating of; but yet they were the same in Principle and Practice as at present.

I believe it is generally allowed, by all Protestants, that Miracles are now ceased; but, if one gives Credit to abundance of Stories that are with great Shew and Pomp ushered into the World, in a Book called *The Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, (which is wrote professedly for the Confirmation of rigid Presbytery) Miracles were in the last Century as frequent in *Scotland*, to attest the Truth of the *Covenant*, as ever they are in the Popish Legends for the Confirmation of the *Romish* Doctrine, more especially that Grand Article of their Faith, *Transubstantiation*.——The Author of this Performance confines the Church within the Pale of *Presbytery*, as the Papists do to that of the *Romish* Communion: And, whenever this Author speaks of the *Church* and the *Truth*, it is rigid Presbytery according to the Plan of CALVIN and KNOX; and he seldom mentions *Prelacy* but with an odious Epithet, generally that of *Anti-christian*. And it may be further observed, that, when any of his Countrymen conform to Episcopal Government, then he is said to *apostatise* from the Purity of the Gospel, and basely to comply with the *National Defection*; and it is seldom but such a one comes to an untimely and miserable End.

The Miracles here recorded are of Two Sorts; either *Vindictive*, as a Punishment to Gainsayers and Apostates; or *Benign*, as a Reward to those that stuck close to the Kirk and Covenant. I shall produce, out of many, a few Instances of both Kinds. Mr. PATRICK ADAMSON (says my Author) was once a reputed Preacher; but, when he deserted the Cause and Interest of CHRIST, [take Notice of that Expression] and was made Archbishop of St. *Andrew*'s, and Prelacy by his Means advanced, tho' he was noted before for a Man of Parts and Eloquence, yet he was, by the righteous Judgment of God, brought to that Pass, that in seeking a Blessing on his Meat he could scarce speak a few Words to any Sense, lost the Favour of the King, (K. JAMES the First) and died in great Misery, confessing, as our Author has it, his Guilt and Apostacy.*——The next Instance that he produces was that Great and worthy Prelate, Archbishop SPOTSWOOD, his Successor in

* Fulfilling of the Scriptures, p. 339. Edit. 3. 1681.

in that See, who wrote the Hiſtory of the Church of *Scotland*. Our Author obſerves, that this *wicked Man* (as he in the Spirit of Bitterneſs is pleaſed to call him) did, in a more ſubtil Way than his Predeceſſor, endeavour to overturn the Diſcipline and Liberties of the *Kirk*; and for his Perfidy, as he ſays, he was made an eminent Example of the Judgment of God; for he was excommunicated from the Kirk, and fled into *England*, and there died in great Miſery.——And all this came to paſs for his Warping and Defection from the Covenant, and to fulfil a Prophecy, which one of their furious Teachers did foretel, "That he ſhould be as a Stone caſt out of the Sling "by the Hand of God*." That he ſuffered the utmoſt Perſecution from the *Kirk* is indeed very true; tho' they will have God, and not their inveterate Malice, to be the firſt Mover and Cauſe.——And here, by the Bye, one may very juſtly obſerve, that the rigid Preſbyterians are ſome of the moſt partial Men in the World; for, when they harraſs and perſecute even unto Death any that dare ſpeak againſt them, 'tis only doing the Work of the Lord; they are moved by the Spirit ſo to do: But, when *they* are in the leaſt moleſted, notwithſtanding for Sedition and Calumny, *then* it is a bloody Perſecution againſt the Saints.——As the latter Part of the Archbiſhop's Epitaph, engraven in Braſs, does ſet forth his Sufferings, I ſhall here ſubjoin it.

Præſul, ſenator, *pene* martyr *hic jacet*,
Quo nemo ſanctior, gravior, conſtantior,
Pro eccleſia, *pro* rege, *pro* rectâ fide,
Contra ſacrilegos, perduelles, perfidos,
Stetit ad extremum uſque vitæ ſpiritum;
Solitumque talium meritorum præmium
Diras rapinas exiliumque pertulit.

Our Author goes on to enumerate ſeveral Particulars of Apoſtacy from the *Covenant* and the Cauſe of CHRIST as he calls it, (as he generally calls *Prelacy*, or Epiſcopal Government, the Cauſe of *Antichriſt*) and makes them all end miſerably, but always takes care to mention that it was a ſpecial Judgment of God.——Sometimes he commiſſions one or other of the fiery Zealots with ſuch a *Miraculous Power*, as by a Word of Authority to be able to beſpeak a Gainſayer dead on the Spot. Thus, when Mr. WELSH was expounding with much Power, he obſerved a Man to make a Slight of him; whereupon he cloſed the *Bible*, and thus ſpoke in the Hearing of all preſent, *There*

* Fulfilling of the Scriptures, p. 340. Edit 3. 1681.

There is one among us so profane and gross as to contemn and mock at the Word of the Lord; but, 'e're a little, God shall smite him with a remarkable Stroke of his Judgment: Which accordingly fell, to the Astonishment of the Company; for the Man instantly dropped down and died.*——*N. B.* This is a friendly Caveat lest any one should presume to behave disrespectfully before a Kirk-preacher attended by his Zealots.

There are a great many more Miracles recorded of this Master J. WELSH; but these chiefly regard his Divine Mission, his wonderful Success in the Ministry, his great Authority with Princes, their extraordinary Respect unto him, and his Prophetick Spirit: And indeed there is scarce one single Occurrence in Life but he is endued with a Spirit of Prophecy, which I have not the Patience to transcribe. But there is one remarkable Passage at his Death, whereby our Author does represent him as over-charged with Divine Favours, and begs that God would not be over-liberal to him, for that he could contain no more: *Lord*, says he, *hold thy Hand, it is enough; thy Servant is a Clay-vessel, and can hold no more.* So that he had more Oil in his Lamp than was necessary, which was more than the *wise Virgins* in the Parable thought *they* had.

Our Author gives us a great many Instances of the Vindictive Kind of Miracles, and the terrible Consequence of their Ministerial Cursing, not only against notorious Sinners and the Profane, but also against those that were *remiss and slack* in assisting the *Kirk*. Some considerable Families, though once opulent and wealthy, yet, upon their Ministers denouncing a Curse upon them for their Indifference in the Cause of CHRIST, were reduced to the utmost Want, and forced to go a begging; some struck dead with Thunder and Lightning; and, in short, some remarkable Judgment on all that were *Prelatical*, and, indeed, upon all that were not favourable to the Discipline and Doctrine of the *Kirk*. *Curse ye Meroz, said the Angel of the Lord; curse ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the Help of the Lord, to the Help of the Lord against the Mighty.* Judg. v. 23.

But our Author dwells very much on the sweet Converse, yea, as he calls it, the sweet Familiarity, that a great many of their Zealots had with God, more especially those that were noted for reviling at the Bishops, and calling them *Knaves*, as he says, with some Emotion and Pleasure, they did†. Among several others that were the peculiar Favourites of Heaven he mentions that famous Man that made such a Noise in *Scotland*, Master ROBERT BRUCE. Being one Day to preach on a solemn

* Fulfilling of the Scriptures, p. 354, 355.——† *Ibid.* 361.

lemn Occasion, the Congregation met; but there was no Preacher: Whereupon, being tired to be waiting there to no Purpose, they sent the Parish-clerk to put him in mind of his intended Performance, who, coming to his Chamber-door, over-heard him with great Earnestness say, *I protest I will not go, except thou go with me.* The Man imagined that he was prevailing with some-body to go along with him that was refractory, but found afterwards that this was an Expostulation with God, and that he would not stir 'till he had a Promise of the Divine Presence to be along with him; and so indeed he had, as our Author does write; for his Face did shine like that of MOSES coming from the Mount; and his Speech and Preaching was in such Evidence and Demonstration of the Spirit, that by the Brightness of his Face, and that Shower of Divine Influence that accompanied the Word, it was easy to perceive that he was of a Truth conversing with God.——A little before his Death he makes use of an Expression that one does not know well what to make of: *When I was a young Man*, said he, *I was diligent, and lived by Faith in the Son of God: But, now I am old, I am not able to do so much; yet he condescends to feed me with Lumps of Sense.*

I shall take no further Notice of the sundry Miraculous Powers that are recorded by this Author than the sudden instantaneous Conversions that attended this *hot Sun-blink* of the Gospel, as he in his *Scotch* Eloquence expresses it. He says, that the *Godly* were then sorely persecuted by the *Prelates*; but, the more they were oppressed, the more powerful was the Evidence of the Lord's Presence with their Ministers, more especially in the Month of *June* 1630, at which Time there was such an Out-pouring of the Spirit, that it was like a *dazzling Beam* and *Ray of God* with an unusual Brightness. According to the Description of our Author, this seems to refer to the large Field-Conventicles, as is still the Manner among the *Cameronians*; for he says it was then sweet and easy for Christians to come Thirty or Forty Miles to these solemn Communions, where sometimes no less than Five Hundred at a Time were converted; and most had a discernable Change wrought on them by the Efficacy of those powerful and awakening Sermons: Some were melted into Tears; some felt an unusual Motion and Trembling in their Limbs; some falling into Fits, and almost choaked: So that it was a convincing Seal to the Truth, and the Ministry of his Servants, who (as our Author observes) were then *persecuted* by the *Prelates*. And, as he goes on, "This great Spring-tide of the Gospel was not of a short Time, "but for some Years' Continuance; yea, as a spreading *Moor-*

'*burn* (that is his Expreſſion) the Power of Godlineſs did ad-
'vance from one Place to another, which put a marvellous
'Luſtre on thoſe Parts of the Country, the Savour whereof
'brought many from other Parts of the Land to ſee the Truth
'of the ſame.'

This is no mean, inconſiderable Author, from whom I have extracted theſe Memoirs, but one of great Eſtimation and Value all the while among Preſbyterians. The particular Book which I have the Peruſal of has the Owner's Name wrote upon it with this Character, *This is an excellent Book*; and, in another Place, *This is a* Super-excellent *Book*. We ſee in this Author, indeed, the true Spirit of the Party; but, notwithſtanding all this Encomium, I ſhall venture to make a few Remarks on theſe *Scottiſh* Miracles, and ſo conclude.

(1.) This Report of miraculous Caſes carries along with it a natural Tendency to make ignorant and unſtable Men utterly abhor the Eſtabliſhed Church of *England*, and to look upon it as Anti-chriſtian, Popiſh, and Tyrannical, which are the very Terms that this Author plentifully beſtows upon it; for ſince, as they did and do ſtill argue, that God has been pleaſed to work ſo many Miracles in Confirmation of *Preſbytery*, it muſt follow that the Epiſcopal Church is none of his, but the Relict of Popery, and Invention of Men.

But then (2.) we may hence remark what a cloſe Connection there is between the *Roman* Church and that of the *Kirk*. Every Popiſh Legend is full of Miracles in Confirmation of the peculiar Doctrines of *Rome*, in Contra-diſtinction to the Proteſtant Faith; and ſo is this Scottiſh Book, *this Super-excellent Book*, as full in Confirmation of rigid Preſbytery and the peculiar Doctrine of CALVIN, in Oppoſition to the Reformation eſtabliſhed in *England*. And, pray, what better Grounds have we to believe one more than the other? Each Party is equally aſſuming, and equally confident! It is Prudence therefore to be cautious, and not to be too credulous, in the Matter. It is foretold, in expreſs Words, that Seducers and falſe Prophets ſhall work Miracles, and ſhall ſhew great Signs and Wonders. *Matt.* xxiv. 23, 24. 2 *Theſſ.* ii. 9, 10. *Revel.* xiii. 14.

(3.) As the true Spirit of the Party diſcovers itſelf viſibly, more eſpecially in the latter End of this Book, we may hence conclude that a cenſorious Temper is of the very Eſſence of the *Kirk*, which ſtill continues to this very Day, not one Jot more charitable than in the Days of old. There is a clear Specimen of this in the Life of Mr. THOMAS HALYBURTON, recommended by Dr. WATTS in a large Preface bearing Date *May* 1, 1718. There, among other Particulars, we have

this

this Account. " Mr. GEORGE HALYBURTON, Bishop of " *Dunkeld*, who had been once a zealous Covenanter, sud- " denly became so forward in the *National Defection*, and so " cruel a Persecutor of his once Fellow Presbyters, that he " would not spare a near Kinsman of his, and turned him out " of his Charge [for Non-conformity]: And yet that *Prelate* " was scarce well warm in his Nest *when the Lord smote him* " *with a sore Sickness, of which he died, and went to his own* " *Place.*" Vid. Act. i. 25. And elsewhere he writeth thus: ' All that were convinced did declare, that any Awakenings ' they ever had were either under the *Preachers in the Fields*, ' or since the Revolution. This is a Testimony that the *Mi-* ' *nisters are called of God.* The most ingrained Malignants ' did frankly declare, that they were never touched by the ' *Curates*, i. e. the Episcopal Clergy.*' In fine, it appears from their Writings, but clearer still from their Practice, that, let a Man be ever so good a Christian, yet out of Principle and Conscience he refuses to take the *Covenant*, he is certain to be persecuted with the utmost Rigour, and is looked upon little better than an *Infidel.* And it may be affirmed, with a great deal of Truth, that the Ecclesiastical Tyranny of the Kirk is altogether as severe against the Episcopalians as the *Inquisition* in *Spain* is against any one suspected of Heresy: The one is as mercileſs and Anti-christian as the other, save that the Kirk-Persecution does not burn at a Stake, but otherwise exposes the poor Sufferers to all the Miseries that the keenest Rancour can invent. The Episcopal Divines were by Force of Arms *dragooned* from their Churches, for no other Crime than their Attachment to the Apostolical Government by Bishops, and a Publick Liturgy in the Service of God. And, suppose they were mistaken, they acted on a Principle of Conscience; which the very Presbyterians in their *own Case* admit as a sufficient Plea.——A little after the Accession of Q. ANNE there was an Act made *to prevent the disturbing of those of the Episcopal Communion, in that Part of* Great-Britain *called* Scotland, *in the Exercise of their Religious Worship, and the Use of the Liturgy of the Church of* England. This Act gave some Relief for a Season; but in a few Years the enraged Zeal of the Faction made it too apparent that they had no more Regard to an Act of Parliament than to an Act of Convocation: The Truth of which may be seen in a Book entitled *A Representation of the State of the Church in* North-Britain, *as to Episcopacy and Liturgy; and of the Sufferings of the orthodox and regular Clergy*

 from

* Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. &c. &c. p. 1. and p. 140. Ed. 2. Lond. 1718.

from the Enemies of both. Lond. 1718.——This Tragick Narrative is very moving: You find the Author groaning from the very Bottom of his Soul out of the deep Sense of the Miseries which himself, and the rest of the Episcopal Church, had suffered from the mercileſs Tyranny of the *Kirk-inquiſition!* "What Chriſtian Heart, ſays he, can remain inſenſible to ſee "Reverend Clergymen bereft of their Flocks, among whom "they have ſucceſsfully ſerved, moſt of them even to grey Hairs, "and by unjuſt Proceedings forced from them to make way "for falſe Teachers;---to ſee them not only prohibited the "publick Exerciſe of the Paſtoral Function, but threatened "with *new Perſecutions* if they did but read Prayers or preach "in their Families on Sundays, or if they baptiſe the Children "of ſuch who cannot in Conſcience receive that Ordinance "from the Hands of their Perſecutors;---to ſee them forced to "abandon their Houſes, to lurk in ſecret Corners, or ſeek "Shelter in foreign Countries;---to ſee them languiſh away in "Want and Melancholy that Time which might have been "profitably employed in the publick Service of God and his "Church;---to ſee ſome, who have adventured to ſtay at "home, threatened to be turned out of their Houſes with their "Families in the Midſt of cold Winter Seaſon;---in a word, "to ſee generally *all* of them expoſed to the greateſt Wants "and Straits, without any viſible Means of ſubſiſting them-"ſelves and Families!"

This is certainly a moving Repreſentation, and yet but a Sketch of Preſbyterian Cruelty in Defence of the ſolemn League and *Covenant*, which enjoins the Abolition of *Epiſcopacy* and the *Liturgy*: And yet there are not Two Inſtitutions in the Church more antient, and more univerſal; and that as well in the Moſaick Diſpenſation as in the Evangelical. 'From the 'Beginning of God's giving Rules for the outward Order and 'Government of the Church here on Earth there have been 'Three *Orders* inſtituted among thoſe that miniſter about 'Holy Things, namely the *High Prieſt*, the *Prieſt*, and the '*Levite*, under the Legal Oeconomy, or in the *Jewiſh* Church; 'and, anſwerable hereunto, the *Biſhop*, the *Prieſt*, and *Deacon*, 'under the Goſpel Diſpenſation, or in the *Chriſtian Church*.'*

From among a Cloud of Witneſſes that I could eaſily produce on this important Subject I ſhall only cite a Paſſage out of Biſhop BURNET, who, as every body knows, was a Man of great Moderation. *It is not poſſible to think*, ſays his Lordſhip, *that a Government* [viz. Epiſcopal] *can be criminal under which the World received the Chriſtian Religion, and that in a Courſe*

* Dr. *Well*'s Geography of the Old Teſtament, Vol. II. p. 254, 255.

Course of many Ages, in which, as all the Corners of the Christian Church, so all the Parts of it, the Sound as well as the Unsound, that is the Orthodox as well as the Hereticks and Schismaticks, agreed. The Persecutions that lay then so heavy on the Church made it no desirable Thing for a Man to be exposed to their first Fury, which was always the Bishop's Portion, and that in a Course of many Centuries, in which there was nothing but Poverty and Labour to be get by the Employment, there being no Princes to set it on as an Engine of Government, and no Synods of Clergymen gathered to assume that Authority to themselves by joint Designs and Endeavours. And can it be imagined that in all that glorious Cloud of Witnesses to the Truth of the Christian Religion, who, as they planted it with their Labours, so watered it with their Blood, there should not so much as one single Person be found on whom either a Love to Truth, or an Envy at the Advancement of others, prevailed so far as to declare against such an early and universal Corruption, if it is to be esteemed one? When all this is complicated together, it is really of so great Authority, that I love not to give the proper Name to that Temper that can withstand so plain a Demonstration; *for what can a Man, even heated with all the Force of Imagination, and possessed with all the Sharpness of Prejudice, except to the Inference made from these Premises, That a Form so soon introduced, and so wonderfully blessed, could not be contrary to the Rules of the Gospel, and cannot be ascribed to any other Original but that the* Apostles *every where established it as the* Fence *about the Gospel which they planted? So that our Religion and Government are to be reckoned* Twins born at the same Time, *and both derived from the same Original.* *

As to the Antiquity of a set Form of Prayer in the Publick Worship, I shall transcribe a Passage out of the excellent Dean PRIDEAUX his Connection, which does fully determine the Matter, would Men wear off the Prejudice of Education and an Attachment to Party, right or wrong. When that very accurate and learned Antiquarian had recited at large the several Forms of Prayer made use of in the Jewish Church in our Saviour's Time, he then subjoins the following Remark, which is home to the Purpose: 'Since our Saviour spared not freely 'to tell the *Jews* of all the Corruptions which they had in his 'Time run into, and on all Occasions reproached them there-'with; had it been contrary to the Will of God to use set '*Forms of Prayer* in his Publick Service, or had it been dis-'pleasing to him to be addressed in such mean Forms [such as 'are mentioned before, and set down at large] when much better 'might have been made, we may be sure he would have told 'them

* Preface to the the Life of Bishop Bedel.

'them of both, and joined with them in neither: But he 'having never found Fault with them for using set Forms, but 'on the contrary taught his own Disciples a set Form to pray 'by, nor at any Time expressed a Dislike of the Forms then 'in Use because of the Meanness and Emptiness of them, but '*always joined with them* in their Synagogues in the Forms 'above recited, this may satisfy our *Dissenters*, if any Thing 'can satisfy Men so perversely bent after their own Ways, that 'neither our using set Forms of Prayer in our Publick Worship, 'nor the using of such which they think not sufficiently edifying, 'can be Objections sufficient to join us in them; for they 'have the Example of CHRIST in both these directly against 'them. The Truth is, whether there be a Form or no Form, 'or whether the Form be elegantly or meanly composed, 'nothing of this availeth to the recommending our Prayers 'unto God: It is the true and sincere Devotion of the Heart 'only that can make them acceptable unto him.——This we 'ought to bring with us when ever we come into the House of 'God to worship before him; and with this, in any Form 'which is of sound Words, we may pray acceptable unto him, 'and none can ever do so without it: But whether any Form 'of such sound Words can be well preserved in those extem-'porary Effusions of Prayer which some delight in, whether 'this doth not often lead them into indecent, and sometimes 'blasphemous Expressions, to the great Dishonour of God, and 'the Damage of Religion, it behoves those, who are for this 'Way, seriously to consider.' *

* Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. B. ii. P. 378. *Lond.* 1716.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Rise, Progress, and Enthusiasm, of the Anabaptists, *which in Order of Time ought to have Place near the Front of this Performance, but for want of Materials is postponed to the last, and placed in the Rear.*

WHEN the Church of *Rome*, to our Sorrow, hit on *their* lucky Expedient to divide this Nation into so many Factions in Point of Religion, the First Emissaries did assume the Shape of *Puritans*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, and *Antinomians*, as has been before related; and they gained their End thereby, which was to demolish the established Episcopal Church, and to murder an excellent religious King, who, under God, was its chief Supporter: And, being thus successful in that Work of Iniquity, they then projected more Mischief; for, to make the Name of *Protestant* more odious still, the Missionaries' Commission was more extensive, to propagate *Anabaptism* and *Quakerism*. Of the latter I have spoken already in a distinct Chapter on that Subject; and I am to enlarge somewhat on the former.

It would be an endless Piece of Work to enumerate the several Instances that Popish Priests in Disguise have *preached* among the *Anabaptists* in order to serve their accursed End, to foment Divisions: I shall only add the following true Story for a Sample of the rest. "*Anno*. 1652, there chanced to "come unto Colonel RICHARD LAWRENCE, then Governor "of *Waterford*, under OLIVER CROMWELL, one NUGENT, "who seemed to be a fair-conditioned Man, and so was hired "by the *Colonel* to work in his Gardens, but, knowing the "Temper of his Master and Principles in Religion, he strove "to please him all he could. Thus he continued with the "*Colonel* for several Years. At last it chanced that Justice "JOHN COOKE, who was executed for the late King's "Murder, took a great Liking to this NUGENT for his rare "Gifts, and begged of the *Colonel* for to let him go over with "him to *England*; which was easily granted. NUGENT, "staying for a while with Justice COOKE, returned into *Ire-*"*land*, where he continued praying and expounding 'till the "Restoration; and then of a sudden he became the Popish "Confessor and Priest at *Leislep*, some Six or Seven Miles "distant from *Dublin*, and hath seen the *Colonel* several Times "since, and laughs at him, considering how he had played the

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" Dissembler with him, as if he had been one of the Fraternity, " which is of the *Anabaptists*. Thus it is evident (saith my " Author) how Dissenters have been mightily gulled, since " the Year 1640, by the Church of *Rome*, purposely to make " Separation in the Church of *England*. This the *Colonel* him- " self cannot deny; for he told the Author (ROBERT WARE, " Esq;) this Story on the 28th Day of March, 1682." *

These Missionaries knew very well that *Infant-Baptism* was the constant and uninterrupted Practice of the Universal Church of CHRIST ever since the Apostles' Time; and so it was their Policy to reject it: For, as the most learned and pious Dr. CAVE (who himself knew more of Antiquity and Church-History than this whole Sect put together) doth very justly remark, *If in controverted Cases the constant Practice of the Church, and those who immediately succeeded the Apostles, be (as no Man can deny it is) the best Interpreter of the Law of* CHRIST, *the Dispute one would think should be at an End; for that it always was the Custom to receive the Children of* Christian Parents *into the Church by Baptism we have sufficient Evidence from the greatest Part of the most early Writers,* IRENÆUS, TERTULLIAN, ORIGEN, CYPRIAN, &c. *whose Testimonies I do not produce, because I find them collected by others, and the Argument thence so forcible and conclusive, that the most zealous Opposers of* Infant-Baptism *know not how to evade it; the Testimonies being so clear, and not the least Shadow, that I know of, in those Times, of any Thing to make against it.——There was indeed, in* CYPRIAN's *Time, a Controversy about the baptising of Infants, not* whether *they ought to be baptised, (for of that there was no Doubt) but concerning the* Time *when it was to be administered; whether on the* Second *or* Third, *or whether, as* Circumcision *of old, to be deferred 'till the* Eighth *Day: For the determining of which,* CYPRIAN, *sitting in Council with Six-six Bishops, writes a* Synodical *Epistle to* FIDUS, *to let him know that it was not necessary to be deferred so long; and that it was their universal Judgment and Resolution that the* Mercy *and* Grace *of God was not to be denied to any as soon as he was* born; *concluding, that it was the Sentence of the Council, that none ought to be forbidden Baptism and the Grace of God, which as it was to be observed and retained towards all Men, so* much more *towards* Infants *and* new-born Children.——And that this Sentence of their's *was* no novel Doctrine St. AUGUSTINE *assures us, where, speaking concerning this* Synodical Determination, *he tells us, that in this* CYPRIAN *did not make any new Decree, but kept the* Faith *of the* Church *most firm and sure.* † Whereas

* Foxes and Firebrands, Part II. p. 139, 140.

† *Dr. Cave's* Primitive Christianity, Part I. Ch. x. p. 302, 303. Ed. III.

Whereas they pretend to say that they have the Gospel Authority for their Warrant in baptising only the Adult, this is still perverting the true Meaning of the Gospel Dispensation. The Apostles had their Commission to teach all Nations, and baptise them in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. All the World, at that Conjuncture of Time, were either Jews or Gentiles, or Pagan Infidels; and the Gospel must needs be preached to such when grown in Years, and capable of understanding. Now, had our Blessed Saviour intended to exclude Infants from the Sacrament of Baptism, he must have enjoined it particularly not to admit them, but to receive *only* the Adult into the Bosom of the Christian Church, for this plain Reason, because it was the constant and universal Custom of the *Jewish* Church to receive *Infants* into Church-membership by *Circumcision*, which was now abolished, and *Baptism* substituted in its Place: And, since there was no *Prohibition*, the Apostles could do no otherwise than admit the Children of Christian Parents, such as they had converted, to the Ordinance of Baptism, as it was, as I mentioned, the universal Practice of the *Jewish* Church to circumcise *Infants*. And not only Circumcision, but *Baptism*, was an old and antient Rule practised all along in the Jewish Church to admit Proselytes: And, if any such had Infant-Children, they were, at the Desire and Request of such Parents, received Members of the Church by Baptism, as is well known to every one that is but moderately conversant in *Jewish* Antiquities; insomuch that Dr. LIGHTFOOT writes, *The Baptising of Infants was a Thing as well known in the Church of the Jews as ever it has been in the Christian Church.*——Hor. Hebr. on Matth. iii. 6.

Suppose a Commission had been granted by the Church of *England* to send a Number of Missionaries into a *Pagan Country*, (as is the Case of a great many Parts of the World to this very Day), to preach the glad Tidings of the Gospel to such Heathens as *sit* still *in Darkness and the Shadow of Death*, Ps. cvii. 10. Why, after labouring some Time in that blessed Work, their Report would be, as in the *Acts* of the Apostles, that they converted a great many, and baptised such as they had converted into the Faith of CHRIST. But can any one think that such Missionaries would refuse the *Children* of such Converts, and debar them from Baptism? Not by any means, because it was the general Custom of the Church that sent them on that Embassy to admit Infants into the Sacred Institution of Baptism.——The same holds good to all Intents and Purposes in the Case of the Apostles' first preaching the Gospel among all Nations, and of the Account of their Success.

Notwithstanding their Toleration and kind Usage, they, as well as other Sectaries, indulge themselves (as if it was an essential Part of their Religion) in most abusive and unchristian Language against the established Church. Who can read, without some Emotion of Spirit, such Language as this from a leading Man amongst them? "The Church of *England* at "this Day, and for many Years together, not being made by "baptising Believers, [so he expresses it] but by fleshly Wash-"ing of Infants upon Confession of Sureties for them, there-"fore they have not put on CHRIST by a Gospel Profession, "but are in God's Account as the worst *Pagans*, *Egyptians*, "*Sodomites*, *Babylonians*, *Gentiles*, a Habitation of Devils, a "Church of all unclean Spirits; in plain Terms, a Cage "of every unclean and hateful Bird. *Revel.* xviii, 2. as also *all* "that separate from her do confess." This is wrote by one J. MORTON; and his Book has been several Times reprinted, and is in great Vogue among the *Anabaptists* to this very Day; and, to make the First Edition seem to be *providential*, it is said in the Title-page, *The Copy of this Book was found hid in an old Wall near* Colchester, *in* Essex. *

Let this suffice as a *Specimen* of their Rancour and prevailing Disposition of Spirit; tho' it must be granted that there are not a few well-meaning Men among them, honest, good Men, that behave well. But, as concerning their Teachers, they could scarce ever have taken a surer Method to convince the World that a *Fanatick Spirit* is their governing Principle than that wild and extravagant Notion which they hold, that Human Learning quencheth the Spirit, and is altogether useless, yea and hurtful to the Function of a Minister of the Gospel. There is a Sermon of one How, a Cobler, that has been several Times reprinted, and is caressed by the Party as a choice Piece of Divinity, that is a sufficient Proof of this, and bears the Title of *The Sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching without Human Learning*. Fronting the Title-page is a Copy of Verses in Commendation of the *Cobler*; which (because they are much valued by the Party for Poignancy and Smartness) I shall here subjoin:—

What How! *how now! hath* How *such Learning found,*
To throw Art's curious Image to the Ground?
Cambridge *and* Oxford *may their Glory now*
Vail to a Cobler, if they knew but How:
Tho' big with Art, they cannot overtop
The Spirit's Teaching in a Cobler's Shop.

Reader

* Truth's Champion, p. 120. Ed. III. Lond. 1673.

Reader, if thou an Human Artist be,
Let Human Learning be no Judge for thee.
Lay down thine Arts, then try this Cobler's *End,*
And see if it be by the Spirit penn'd.
Mean Time adieu, ye Arts and Artists all;
The Spirit's Teaching may attend the Awl:
And then, brave Cobler, *blow another Blast*
Upon their Learning, tho' thou blow thy Last.

The Generality of their Teachers in *England* and *Wales* are for the most part a very noisy and an ignorant Set of People, very often Mechanicks, and broken Tradesmen, that understand nothing but their own Mother Tongue, and that but very coarsely: But, to supply that Defect, they pretend, as How the *Cobler* did, to be *gifted* Men, and *illuminated* by the Spirit, on whom they father all their crude Notions, and Deliriums, and wrested Interpretation of Scripture, which in its Consequence is the grossest Enthusiasm, if not direct Blasphemy. They should have considered, that, had not Men of the established Church, assisted by Human Learning, translated the Holy Bible into *English* and *Welsh**, they, poor silly Mortals! would not have been able so much as to read it, much less to understand it. But there is in Holy Writ a vast many Passages (not to insist on Chronology and Geography) that are quite beyond the Capacity of ordinary People to apprehend at this Distance of Time; and to a Nation so remote from *Judæa*, where their Customs, the very Idiom of their Language, Proverbial Sayings, Manner of Expression, and Style, are quite different from our's. To instance but in St. PAUL's Epistles, (where so many incidental Controversies and Disputes with *Jews* and *Gentiles* are handled) unless one is made acquainted with the Nature of these Matters, and the true State of the Case, it is morally impossible to know his Meaning to any tolerable Satisfaction. His Meaning was perverted even in his own Life-time; for, as St. PETER observes, in his Writings *some Things are hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own Destruction.* 2. Pet. iii. 16. And to say, as the *Anabaptists* do, that they have the Teaching of the Spirit, is rank Enthusiasm; this is to expect a Miracle when ordinary Means will avail, (such as Application to History, and Human Industry) which in Scripture Language is to tempt God: And let the

* Translated by the Right Reverend Fathers in God, Dr. *Richard Davies*, Bishop of St. *David's*; Dr. *William Morgan*, Bishop of *Landaff*; Dr. *Richard Parry*, Bishop of St. *Asaph*; assisted by the excellent Linguist, *Joan Davies*, D. D.

Anabaptists take heed of it. Such of their Teachers as have Tincture of Learning very often employ that Stock in broachin some new Opinion, or reviving some old Heresy, such as de nying Original Sin; which they now generally offer at*. Bu they all unanimously judge that they then are more especiall well employed, and make a very commendable Use of the Talents, when they falsify Authorities to prove that Infan Baptism is a very novel Institution unknown to the Primitiv Church. Among others one Col. DANVERS, (as they stile him has wrote a *Treatise on Baptism*, wherein are such fraudulen Dealings, so many wilful Prevarications, so many vile Forgerie that an *Appeal* in Print was made to his own Party that the ought in Conscience to renounce him as a most scandalou Writer, one who has no manner of Regard to Truth and In tegrity.——But, notwithstanding all this, he is still in hig Esteem, making Proselytes. One will see in him a vast Rhap sody of Quotations heaped thick together, whereof the greate Part is wilful Forgery; or Names of a modern Date, of n manner of Authority, such as TWISK, SEBASTIAN FRANK with abundance more which serve only to blind the Eyes of ig norant People, who, seeing such a Variety of strange Names, take all upon Trust. But *surely a lying Tongue, and a fals Witness that speaketh Lies, is an Abomination unto the Lord.* Prov. vi. 16.

There is another sham Writer who is in very great Repute among them, one DELAUN, Author of an angry Pamphlet, called *A Plea for the Non-conformists*. In this sorry Performance all the Errors, and Blunders, and Forgeries, of DANVERS are copied *verbatim*; and it has been reprinted several Times and much boasted of as a *finished Piece*. But, had the Matte been sifted to the Bottom, it is rather a Scandal than any Credi to the Cause, as having its Foundation laid upon notorious Untruths. These Two, viz. DANVERS and DELAUN's, a being loaded with Quotations, such as they are, are hande about with great Industry; and they much glory in them; but in Fact and in Reality, they glory in their Shame.

There is one Thing that I am in a more particular Manne concerned in; and that is, to vindicate the old *Britons* from national Reflection that DANVERS has thrown upon them and, as I think, DELAUN likewise; for it is a great man Years since I read his Pamphlet: And the false Report is, th the *Antient Britons* knew no such Practice as Infant-Baptism 'ti AUSTIN the *Monk* brought it, among other Corruptions from

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* Vid. *The Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin*, in Three Parts, by John Tay Lond. 1740.

Rome, towards the Close of the Sixth Century. In order to prove this Piece of secret History, he quotes one FABIAN, a *Londoner*, that lived in King HENRY the *Seventh* his Time, near a Thousand Years since the coming of the said AUSTIN into *England*. Now Venerable BEDE, who wrote the *Church History of the* English *Nation* about the Year 730, and who must needs know best, does give the following Account of the Conference between AUSTIN and Seven of the British Bishops. He tells us, that, after he had made some Progress in planting Christianity among the *Saxons*, he made a Proposal to the *Britons*, desiring them to join in Communion with him and his new Converts: But, whereas the Britons held and practised some Rites and Traditions in many Things different from the Church of *Rome*, he insisted that they should leave off their own, and comply with his Ceremonies and Customs. And, after many Alterations, he had at last made them this final Proposal, thus translated by STAPLETON, for I have not at present by me the Original *Latin*: *Although, dear Brethren, in many other Points you do contrary to our Custom yet notwithstanding, if ye will in these Three Things consent, and obey unto me, that is, to celebrate Easter in due Time, to accomplish the Office of Baptism (by which we are born again to God) according to the Manner of the holy Roman and Apostolick Churches*, and, last of all, to preach *with us to the English Nation, all your other Ceremonies, Rites, Fashions and Customs, though they be contrary to our's, yet we will willingly suffer them, and be content to bear them. But they answered, that they would do none of those Things; neither would they accept him for their Archbishop**. DINOTHUS, Abbot of *Bangor*, was the Spokesman; and the original Speech is preserved entire from a very antient M S by Sir HENRY SPELMAN. †

This Passage is quoted by a great many of our *English* Historians, and, among the rest, this FABIAN in his Chronicle of *England*. In the first Edition of his History (as Dr. WALL observes, for I have not seen it, it being very scarce) he recites this Passage in the same Sense that BEDE has it; but in another Edition, either thro' Inadvertency, or an *Erratum* of the Press, these Words, *according to the Manner of the* Roman Church, are omitted. Now behold the Subtilty and bold Assurance of DANVERS! From the Omission of these Words in *One* Impression, casually left out, he has the Effrontery to assert, and palm it on the World, that the Matter in Dispute was the *Baptism of Infants*, which AUSTIN did propose, in the *Conference*, that

* Vid. *Wall's* Hist. of Inf. Bapt. Vol. II. Ch. iv. Ed. 3. *Lond.* Bed. Eccles. Hist. L. 2. C. 2.

† Concilia Britan. Tom. I. p. 108. *Lond.* 1639.

that the *British* Church should consent to! whereas there is not the least Hint of this in Venerable BEDE! And, to make it have the Face of Truth, he quotes FABIAN, whom an ordinary Reader knows nothing to the contrary, but that he might be as antient as BEDE himself, notwithstanding that he lived near a *Thousand* Years after! *What shall be done unto thee, thou false Tongue?* Ps. cxx. 3.——Such is their scandalous Dealing with Things Divine and Human!

Such another Attempt was made by the Kirk-party, in *Scotland*, for the Honour of *Presbyterian* Government; That the Primitive Church in that Part of the Kingdom was governed, during the purest Ages of Christianity, by a Parity of Ministers distinguished by the Name of *Culdees*; and therefore, when they abolished and threw out *Episcopacy*, they did but *restore* the antient, true, and *Evangelical* Government, such as is settled there at present. Now, all this Model is built on a Saying, or Dream rather, of one JOHN, a Monk of *Fordon*, who lived in a dark Age, viz. the 14th Century, above a *Thousand* Years since this imaginary Government was set up. This he did with a View to advance his own Order, as being originally of the same Authority as the highest Power in the Church; and he lived in an ignorant Age, so that nobody could contradict him. And, when the *Covenant* was set up, they could pitch on no better Authority to support the Cause than the bare Testimony of this silly Monk of *Fordon*. Not only HECTOR BOETHIUS, and all the *Scottish* Writers since, but even the Great Mr. SELDEN and BLONDEL, with all their Reading, could fix on no Corner of the Globe to settle this Kind of a National Church-government but among the *Culdees* in *Scotland*, and that on the bare Word of the Monk of *Fordon*. But it is a known Rule, as Dr. WALL very justly observes in another Case, 'That any modern Writer, affirming any thing of an-'tient History without referring to some antient Author, is 'not at all to be heeded.' The very learned Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and afterwards of *Worcester*, has altogether disproved this Legend, and has sufficiently confuted that modern Fiction of a *Scottish* Ordination by mere Presbyters, *which*, (as his Lordship observeth) *being formed by* Popish Monks *for the Honour of their Way, has been catched up by some amongst us to give a Colour of Antiquity to their Innovations.**

But, to return to the Subject in hand, I had forgot to mention (which is very material in this Case) that PELAGIUS, a *Briton* born, a great Traveller, and named in his own Country Mor-

* Ch. Government of Great-Britain and Ireland, Chap. vii. p. 172. Ed. 2. *Lond.* 1684.

MORGAN, becauſe he denied *Original Sin*, was ſuppoſed to deny the *Neceſſity* of *Baptiſm* to *Infants*; yet he publickly declares, that, tho' he had travelled over moſt Parts of the Chriſtian World, he never knew nor *heard of any Chriſtian, Catholick, or Sectary, that denied Infant-Baptiſm**. If any thing leſs than a Miracle would ſatisfy Men, this would do it; but, when Men are obſtinately bent againſt the cleareſt Proof, 'tis a Sign they are reſolved againſt any Conviction.

I ſhall conclude with a Sketch of their Riſe and Progreſs; which I ſhall do in the Words of Dr. WALL, the faireſt Adverſary they ever had to deal with, every where exact and impartial, a Man of great Judgment and Moderation.——No ſooner had the Reformation begun by LUTHER, *Anno* 1517, taken good Footing in *Saxony*, and ſome other Parts of *Germany*, [great Numbers of People, and ſome Princes, (who were at this Time generally weary of the Abuſes and Corruptions of *Popery*, and longed for a *Reformation*) greedily embracing it] but that, within Five or Six Years, there aroſe a Sort of Men that pretended to refine upon him. One NICHOLAS STORK, and THOMAS MUNCER, preached that the Baptiſm of Infants was alſo an Abuſe that muſt be reformed: And they baptiſed over again ſuch as became their Diſciples. They added alſo other Things; That it was not fit, nor to be endured in *the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt*, that ſome ſhould be ſo *rich*, and others ſo *poor*; or that the *Boors* ſhould be held to ſuch burthenſome Services by their Landlords. Abundance of People flocked to them; and the more for that there had been before Diſcontents, and ſome Inſurrection of thoſe poorer Sort of People, becauſe of their ſaid Hardſhips.

There was this Difference between LUTHER's Method and *their*'s; That he and his Aſſociates preached up Obedience to all lawful Magiſtrates in Temporal Things, but *they* carried Things with a higher Hand, in Defiance of Magiſtracy: And MUNCER called himſelf *The Sword of the Lord, and of Gideon*.

LUTHER and the *Proteſtants* entered their Proteſtation againſt their Proceedings, as bringing a Scandal on the new-begun Reformation: But they, notwithſtanding this, went on in their Proceedings, and after ſome Time (great Numbers of diſorderly People joining with them) became terrible, made a Sort of Army, and committed great Ravages on the Eſtates of rich Men wherever they marched. And at laſt, *Anno* 1534, a ſtrong Party of this Sort of Men coming moſtly from *Holland*, ſeized on the City of *Munſter*, where one JOHN BECOLD, commonly called JOHN of *Leyden*, being advanced to be their King, they pre-

* *Vid.* Dr. *Wall*, Vol. II. p. 119. Ed. 3.

pretended to Prophecy and Revelation, and did, under the Name of CHRIST's Kingdom, practiſe ſeveral Tyrannies and Enormities, whence a great deal of Miſchief and Confuſion did enſue.

Some Regular Troops being brought againſt them, they were ſubdued: And the King, JOHN of *Leyden*, and ſome of the Ring-leaders, being put to Death, the reſt were diſperſed into ſeveral Parts of *Germany*; and a great many fled into the *Low-Countries*, where there were already great Numbers of them; and from thence they had a ſhort and eaſy Paſſage to *England*. A few Years after the Sedition raiſed by the *Anabaptiſts* in *Munſter*, and the Diſperſion that followed that Defeat, ſome ſtraggling *Dutchmen* began to vent this ſingular Opinion in *England*; but it made but a very ſlow Progreſs, or ſcarce any Progreſs at all, during the Reigns of King EDWARD, and his Siſter Queen ELIZABETH. But what the plegmatick *Dutch*, who heartily and ſincerely eſpouſed the Cauſe, were unable to carry on, a few ſly *Jeſuits* in Diſguiſe, by preaching, and diſperſing of Books wrote by themſelves againſt the Lawfulneſs and Validity of Infant-Baptiſm, brought effectually to bear *: And to them it is owing, as the prime Managers in the Cauſe, that *Antipedo baptiſm* had the firſt ſure Footing in *England*.

The following Story being ſo remarkable an Inſtance of *Jeſuitical* Cunning, to ſerve the Purpoſe of *Rome*, I ſhall here inſert it, as being a further Proof of the Caſe in hand. *Anno* 1656 the Reverend Divine Dr. HAMMOND being one Day in a Book-ſeller's Shop, and reading the Works of St. AMBROSE, a Red-coat (or a Common Soldier) caſually came in, and looked over this Divine's Shoulder, and there read the *Latin* as perfect as himſelf; which cauſed the *Doctor* to admire that a *Red-coat* ſhould attain to that Learning. Then, ſpeaking unto him, he demanded how he came to that Science: The *Red-coat* replied, *By the Holy Spirit*. The Doctor hereupon replied, *I will try thee further*; and ſo called for a *Greek* Author, which the *Red-coat* not only read, but conſtrued. The Doctor, to try him further, called for the *Hebrew* Bible, and ſo for ſeveral other Books, in which this *Red-coat* was very expert. At laſt the Doctor, recollecting with himſelf, [a lucky Thought!] called for a *Welſh* Bible, and ſaid, *If thou beeſt inſpired, read me this Book, and conſtrue it*: But the *Red-coat*, being at laſt catched, replied, *I have given thee Satisfaction enough, I will not ſatisfy the further; for thou wilt not believe, though an* Angel *came from Heaven to convince thee*. Whereupon the Doctor, ſuſpecting him for a Cheat, cauſed him to be apprehended, and his Chamber

* Dr. *Wall*, Vol. II. Chap. viii. p. 342.

ber ſearched, where there was found a Trunk full of *Popiſh* Books, and in one of his Books a Parchment *Bull*, or Licence, granted unto this Impoſtor, under ſeveral Names, to aſſume what Function or Calling he pleaſed. *

'Tis true, there is no particular Mention in this Story that his Inſtructions were to deny Infant-Baptiſm: But in another remarkable Inſtance, of HETH the Jeſuit, in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH, there is expreſs Mention that in his Trunk were found ſeveral Books, wrote by Order of the Fraternity of JESUS, with Arguments againſt the Baptiſm of Infants, which novel Doctrine he had in Charge, in the *Bull* or Licence from *Rome*, to ſpread with all poſſible Induſtry, and to re-baptiſe his Proſelytes. The whole Story is well worth the Reading.†——Hence we may obſerve that, whereas the preſent *Anabaptiſts* endeavour to maintain that Infant-Baptiſm cannot be proved by Scripture Authority, but only by *Tradition*, they herein borrow their Arguments from the *Papiſts*. It is a politick Turn of their's, and it ſerves them in a Two-fold Deſign: One is to puzzle the *Proteſtants* in general, who maintain that the Scripture is a ſufficient Rule; the other is, to foment Diviſions, and to encourage a Separation from the Eſtabliſhed Church, which they look upon with an envious Eye, as being (as it is indeed) the ſtrongeſt Bulwark in Chriſtendom againſt the Attacks of *Rome*.

N. B. The firſt Puritans only expreſſed a Diſlike againſt ſome Ceremonies, and Mal-adminiſtration in the Spiritual Courts, yet did not proceed to a total Separation. But about the Year 1567, ſomewhat in the Beginning of Q. ELIZABETH, *there ſucceeded them* (as Mr. FULLER expreſſes it) *another Generation of active and zealous Non-conformiſts. Of theſe* COLEMAN, HALLINGHAM, *and* BENSON, *were the Chief, accounting every thing from* Rome *which was not from* Geneva. No body ſuſpected to the contrary, but that they were really ſuch as they pretended, *viz.* Proteſtants *Puritanically* inclined: But, about an Hundred Years after the Time that theſe Men muſt have been dead, it was diſcovered, by the Sagacity of that Great Man, and univerſal Scholar, Biſhop STILLINGFLEET, that all Three were *Jeſuits* in Diſguiſe. ‖

But, to return once again to the Subject in hand, In King JAMES his Reign the Number of the *Anabaptiſts* in this Kingdom was very inconſiderable; and ſo it was in the Beginning of good King CHARLES his Reign: But, as the grand Rebellion

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* Foxes and Firebrands, Part II. p. 102, Ed. 2.
† *Ibid.* Part I. p. 31, 42.
‖ Dr. *Wall*, Vol. II. p. 340, 341.

broke out, more especially during OLIVER's Usurpation, they made a very considerable Figure. In that Time they boasted, in an Enthusiastick Strain, that the Prophecy was now fulfilled, *Many shall run to and fro, and Knowledge shall be increased*, Dan. xii. 4.——OLIVER had a very great Regard for these Men, as being generally *Enthusiasts* like himself. They had, many of them, Places of Trust and Profit; as Captains, Colonels, Major-generals, Committee-men, Sequestrators, &c. In which several Commissions, during the Usurpation, they acted so bloodily against the persecuted Church of *England* and Royalists as if it had been a *Work* of *Merit* so to do. But, notwithstanding all these Favours and Marks of Distinction, no sooner was the Usurper dead than they began to court the *Rising Sun*, and bespatter OLIVER (whom formerly they so much adored) to all Intents and Purposes; for in an Address to King CHARLES the Second, presented to him at *Bruges*, they call OLIVER (now he was dead) a *grand Impostor*, a *detestable Traitor*, a *loathsome Hypocrite*, a *Prodigy of Nature**, and by all the odious Names they could think of.——They can *trim* as well as some others.——And, ever since, they *increase* and *multiply* apace.

* Hist. of the Rebellion, B. xvi. p. 760. Ed. Oxon. 1706.

The

The Conclusion of the Whole.

WE may observe, of all the Sects that assume the Name of Christians, That, notwithstanding their different Way of Thinking, yet every distinct Party does claim the *Truth* to be on its Side, in Contra-distinction to others. Thus the *Arrians*, who deny the Divinity of the Saviour of the World, pretend to have the *Truth* on their Side of the Question; and Mr. WHISTON is pleased to bestow no better Language on the Doctrine of the Trinity, as believed and explained by the Church of *England*, than that of *Athanasian Heresy*, which heavy Charge is interspersed almost every where through the *Historical Preface* to the Four Volumes of his *Primitive Christianity*, and in the Memoirs of the Life of Dr. S. CLARKE. *N. B.* By Primitive Christianity he always and constantly means the *Arrian* Doctrine. He tells us, ever and anon, that the *Truth* is so glaring, on their Side of the Question, that all the Primitive Fathers of the Three First Centuries had the same Belief as the *Arrians* in respect to the Doctrine of the Trinity.--- But I would humbly propose One Query: If Matters were so, as Mr. WHISTON every where represents the Case, to what Purpose was it that the Great Council of *Nice* was convened by the Emperor CONSTANTINE, A. D. 325, to examine into the Opinion of ARRIUS, where his Opinions were condemned and *anathematised*, if he held the same Doctrine with the Catholick Church? I am apt to think that, if Mr. WHISTON himself was yet alive, he would find it somewhat difficult to render a satisfactory Answer to this plain Question.

The *Antinomians* will tell you, in a serious Mood, that they contend for the *Truth*. The *Quakers* argue for the *Truth*. And to name no more, and to come nearer the Subject last in hand, the *Anabaptists* are as confident as any that they hold the *Truth*, yea, and none but *they solely*. There is one GEORGE HAMMON, (a Teacher in his Time of great Repute among them, and a Man, as appears by his Writings, of a fierce and turbulent Spirit) who every where declares that he is striving for the *Truth*, yea, that he has found it, the Spirit bearing Witness thereof: And yet this Man pleads with Might and Main against Original Sin; has Eight Reasons, such as they are, to prove that the *Soul* is mortal and extinct with the Body when it dies; that the vulgar Notion of the *Soul*'s Immortality is a ond Conceit of the *Heathen Poets*, from whom the Church of *Rome* borrowed it, and the Church of *England* from the *Papists*,

or, at best, that the Soul is in a State of utter Insensibility 'till the Resurrection. He does every where most abominably pervert Scripture in favour of his wild and Enthusiastick Rants; and, among other Paradoxes, he argues that, when CHRIST took up the *little Children in his Arms, and blessed them*, Mark x. 16. it was no more than to cure them of some Bodily Distemper, suppose the Rickets, or a Breaking-out, or the Worms. ——And yet all this, with a great many other Extravagancies, must be accounted the *Truth!* And to this daring Performance he gives this pompous Title, *Truth and Innocency prevailing against Error and Insolency.* Lond. 1660.

But, notwithstanding they severally maintain quite contrary and opposite Opinions and Doctrine, and *all* pretend to *Truth*, yet all the *Modern Sects*, of what Denomination soever, do unanimously combine against the *Three* Orders in the Christian Church, and plead strongly for a *Parity* of Ministers without any Super-intendant, or Overseer, or Bishop, to preside; which Government they brand as Tyrannical and Anti-christian, and with all other odious Names that they can think of. To convince them of this their common Error is very nigh the next Door to Impossibility, their early Prejudice being so strong and radicate! *Non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris.* But, to set this Matter of Importance in a clear Light to others who may be dubious, I shall here subjoin the Testimony of the Holy Martyr S. IGNATIUS, who, as some of the Antients supposed, was that very Child whom our Saviour took into his Arms, and set in the Midst of his Disciples, as the most lively Instance of Innocency and Humility. *Mark* ix. 36. But the most learned Dr. CAVE gives no Credit to that Supposition*. Undoubtedly he was brought up, in his younger Years, under Apostolical Instruction, being intimately conversant with the Apostles, and a Pupil of St. JOHN; and indeed he copies after his beloved Master's Example, arguing every where against Heresies which sap the Foundation of Christianity, and with a Divine Zeal recommending Unity and Concord, and a Perseverance in the Faith.

He made a noble Profession of his Faith before the Emperor TRAJAN when he made a Progress into the *East*, and, because of his Constancy, was condemned to be brought in Chains, a very long tedious Journey, from *Antioch*, in *Syria*, to suffer Martyrdom at *Rome*; and whilst he tarried, in his Way thither, for some Time, in *Smyrna*, he wrote several *Epistles* to the Churches, to confirm them in the Faith, lest the Persecution then raging against the Christians should make them shrink from their Holy Profession. His Words, which are for my Purpose, are as follow. In

* Lives of the Primitive Fathers, p. 100. Ed. iii.

In his Epistle to the *Ephesians* he writeth thus: Σπουδάσατε ἀγαπητοὶ ὑποταγῆναι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τοῖς Πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ τοῖς Διακόνοις. ὁ γὰρ τούτοις ὑποτασσόμενος ὑπακούει Χριστῷ τῷ προκαθεισάμενῳ αὐτοῦ. Do you, Beloved, be obedient to the Bishop, and your Presbyters, and your Deacons; for he that is subject to them is obedient to CHRIST who has ordained them.

In his Epistle to the *Magnesians* he thus expresses himself: Ὥσπερ ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐδὲν ποιεῖ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνάμενος, φησί, ποιεῖν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ οὐδέν· οὐ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, μήδε Πρεσβυτέρου, μήδε λαϊκοῦ· μήδε τι φαινέσθω ὑμῖν εὔλογον παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην. Τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον, παράνομον καὶ Θεοῦ ἐχθρόν. As the Lord does nothing without the Father, for, says he, *I can of my own self do nothing*, John v. 30. so do you, neither Presbyter, nor Deacon, nor Layman, do any thing without your Bishop: Nor let any thing seem decent which is against his Judgment; for that would be to act impiously, and an Enemy of God.

In his Epistle to the *Romans* there is no Mention made of this Subject. In his Epistle to the *Trallians* he puts them in mind to reverence the Bishop, who is the Representative of the Lord; to be subject to the Presbyters as his *Sanhedrim*; and in every thing to please the Deacons, who are the Attendants of the Mysteries of JESUS CHRIST; and then concludes, Ἔρρωσθε ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς Πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς Διακόνοις. Fare ye well in the Lord JESUS CHRIST; be obedient to the Bishop, and so likewise to the Presbyters and Deacons.

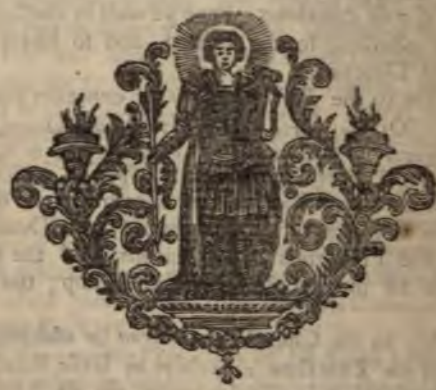
In his Epistle to the *Philadelphians* he expresses himself after this Manner: Οἱ Ἄρχοντες πειθαρχείτωσαν τῷ Καίσαρι, οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οἱ Διάκονοι τοῖς Πρεσβυτέροις, οἱ Πρεσβυτέροι, καὶ οἱ Διάκονοι, καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς Κλῆρος ἅμα πάντι τῷ λαῷ---τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, Ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος τῷ Χριστῷ. Let Governors be obedient to CÆSAR; the Soldiers to the Governors; the Deacons to the Presbyters; the Presbyters and Deacons, and the rest of the Clergy, with all the People,---to the Bishop; the Bishop to CHRIST.

And, lastly, to the Church of *Smyrna* he addresseth himself thus: Πάντες τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ Πατρί, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς Ἀπόστολοις. τοὺς δὲ Διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε ὡς ἐντολὴν διακοσοῦντας. Let all of you in general follow your Bishop, as CHRIST did his Father; and your Presbytery, as the Apostles; and reverence the Deacons, as those that dispense the Commands of God.——And towards the Close of the Epistles he repeats the same Admonition very nigh in the same Words.

This Apostolical Testimony is of inestimable Value, which being

being so often repeated is, one would think, a Demonstration sufficient to silence all Cavils, and put an End to the Dispute: But, if Men will be obstinate against the clearest Conviction, let the Sin lie at their own Door. *N. B.* There are other Epistles fathered on this blessed Martyr, but are rejected as spurious: But *these Six* are his undoubted genuine Work, and acknowledged as such by the ablest Criticks of the Christian World.

The E N D.



BRIEF

OBSERVATIONS

ON A

PAMPHLET,

INTITULED

The HISTORY of Modern Enthusiasm, from the REFORMATION to the present TIMES;

So far as relates to the PEOPLE called

QUAKERS.

By JOHN LEWIS.
of Haverfordwest

Blessed are ye when Men shall revile you, &c.
Mat. v. 11.

LONDON:

Printed by LUKE HINDE, at the *Bible* in *George-yard, Lombard-street*, 1759.

PREFACE.

KIND READER,

A Pamphlet, intituled The History of Modern Enthusiasm, *&c. the second Edition, printed in* 1757, *having lately fallen accidentally into my Hands; the Consideration thereof, so far as relates to the People called* Quakers, *engaged my Attention. It is not Ambition to see my Name in Print, that induces me to crave thy serious Perusal of the following Lines, but a real Concern to see my Country-men, particularly the rising Generation, so grosly imposed upon, by one who no Doubt professes himself* a Minister of the Gospel; *but what Sort, I submit to the* impartial Reader, *when in Page* 21 *of his* Preface, *after mentioning the Happiness of the* Protestant *Churches abroad, their being free from these Jars, Discords and Divisions, that are the Result of so many different* Sectaries *tollerated in this Kingdom, he says,* '*There is never a* Dissenter *that dares lift up his* '*Head in the established Churches of* Sweden *and* 'Denmark.'

I shall make no Comment upon this Assertion; it does, I think, plainly manifest the Disposition of the Author: But, after acknowledging my

Thankfulness to Almighty God, and Gratitude to the Government, under whom we enjoy our Religious and Civil Liberties, which ought to be highly prized by all Men, I recommend my Reader *to the Guidance of the Grace of God, in the grand Concerns of his immortal Soul, that he thereby may become wise unto Salvation, which is my sincere Desire.*

I might have been much more copious in Extracts from our Friends Writings, as well as from many other Texts of Scripture, and many more Collects of the Church of England, *and Quotations from her most approved Writers, in Support of the Necessity of* Inspiration, *or the* inward Revelation *of the* holy Spirit, *in order to teach the Things of God savingly and effectually, but have endeavour'd to be as brief as I well could, without doing Injury to my present Design, which was to prevent the Honest and Sincere from being imposed upon, and deceived by the bold, but groundless, Assertions of the present* Author. *And I would entreat the* Reader, *seriously to weigh and consider the said Quotations, which are mostly collected out of the* holy Scriptures, *from* approved Authors *of the Church of* England, *and out of their own* Publick Service.

Haverfordwest, 21st of the 12th Month, called *December*, 1758.

JOHN LEWIS.

BRIEF

BRIEF
Obſervations, &c.

THE Author of a Pamphlet, intituled *The Hiſtory of modern Enthuſiaſm*, &c. does therein pretend to give the Publick an Account of the Riſe and Origin of the People called *Quakers*, in Language very unbecoming the Character he aſſumes, and which he eaſily might have done with more Candour and Truth, had his Prejudice, not to ſay his Malice, permitted him; he treats them in a very unchriſtian Manner, uſing ſundry unbecoming Terms, ſuch as *Upſtart Sect*, &c. pag. 85, in which he ſeems to have a fertile Invention; and renders an Account of their religious Tenets out of the Books of their Adverſaries, ſuch as *Leſley*, *Cotton Mather*, &c. (whoſe Malice, Envy, and groſs Impoſition on the Publick, have long ſince been laid open to the World) or any other Author he thinks to his Purpoſe, how falſe ſoever; who by curtailing Paſſages out of our approved Writers, or, like him, perverting the plain Senſe of ſuch Paſſages, have endeavour'd to render us *Hetorodox*; which true Charity would have obliged them to place the moſt favourable Conſtruction upon.

Such

Such Method of treating a *Chriſtian* Society will but terminate to his Shame, when well-diſpoſed Perſons, who are willing to be informed for themſelves, ſhall have Recourſe to Variety of Tracts that are extant, relating to our Faith and Practice, ſo that there ſeems to be nothing new to offer; for we always were, and ſtill are, willing to ſubject our religious Principles to the ſtricteſt Examination, being convinced, that Truth will ever appear the brighter, for being inſpected or ſearched into.

It is with no ſmall degree of Reluctance, that I have undertook to put Pen to Paper on this Occaſion; for which Reaſon, I ſhall with all Brevity juſt obſerve, his unbecoming and ſcurrilous Manner of treating all who diſſent from him, and that thoſe ridiculous Aſſertions of his, in relation to the *Quakers*, are Calumnies and groſs Untruths, that ought long ſince to have been buried in Oblivion, being too ſtale to be of any Service to his Cauſe; moſt of which, upon Examination, will be found to be the Work of his famous Predeceſſor, as well as favourite Author, * *Leſley*, whoſe ſcandalous

* *Charles Leſley*, a nonjuring *Jacobite*, was well known about ſixty Years ago, not ſo much for his being either *Learned* or *Reverend*, as this Author often calls him, as for his Virulence againſt Diſſenters of all Denominations, and for his open and avowed Diſaffection to the *Proteſtant* Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*. He likewiſe was ſaid to be the

dalous Impoſition on the Publick has long ſince, in the Eſteem of others, been ſufficiently detected by the Authors of *The Switch for the Snake.*

I ſhould not at this Time have eſteemed any Thing he has advanced worthy my Notice, had he not attempted to impoſe on the World, by repreſenting us as *Enthuſiaſts* in the worſt Senſe of the Word; which we muſt ſurely be, if what the Vicar ſaith is true, 'That what we 'mean by the Light within, may either be the 'Effect of Melancholy or Enthuſiaſm; yea, 'or ſometimes the Suggeſtion of an evil Spirit.' *See his Book*, pag. 79.

This unchriſtian Method of repreſenting us to the Publick, many of whom I was afraid might (according to what my noted Author ſays in his *Preface*, pag. 8.) *look upon our Silence for*

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the Author of a Scheme to unite the *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*, by making ſuch Conceſſions to the former, as hardly any but a *Papiſt* could do; which ſufficiently declared his Principles. As to his Book, called *The Snake in the Graſs*, wrote againſt the *Quakers*, it was fully anſwer'd by *Joſeph Wyeth* in the Year 1699, and his Falſity and Malice againſt them properly expoſed therein; the Book was intituled, *A Switch for the Snake in the Graſs*; to which we never heard he made any Reply. The ſaid Book, called *The Snake*, was likewiſe anſwered, in great Part, by *Daniel Philips*, in his *Vindicia Veritatis*; and in the Year 1732, by *Joſeph Beſſe*, in his Anſwer to *Patrick Smith*.

for Consent, induced me to contribute my Mite, in as concise a Manner as I possibly could, to expose his fallacious Performance,

First, By setting forth, out of approved Authors among ourselves, what kind of *Enthusiasm*, or *Inspiration*, or *immediate Revelation*, we own, and what we reject.

Secondly, I shall offer a few Scripture Texts in Support thereof.

Thirdly and *lastly*, A few Collects of the National Church, together with the Sentiments of her most eminent Writers on that Subject; all which is humbly recommended to the serious Perusal of the sober Enquirer after divine Truths.

How far the learned Vicar may boast of his Performance I know not, but I find he confesses he has already been censured, for manifesting a Bitterness of Spirit not of late to be equalled; nor can I observe in him any Marks of that *Christian* Virtue called CHARITY, without which, all our Performances *are but as sounding Brass, or a tinkling Cymbal*, 1 Cor. xiii. 1. Of quite different Sentiments, concerning us, was the judicious and learned Judge *Hale*, when our Principles were not so well known, nor esteemed, as now; 'The *Quakers*, '*(saith he)* take away some Singularities, the 'Men are as other Men; some indeed very

'sober,

'ſober, honeſt, plain-hearted Men, and ſound 'in moſt, if not in all the important Doctrines 'and Practices of Chriſtianity.' *Nature of true Religion*, pag. 15. 1684.

Firſt; Now I proceed to the Sentiments of ſome of our approved Authors on *Inſpiration*, or *immediate Revelation*, ſetting forth what Inſpiration we own, and what reject.

'I know the monſtrous Conceit ſome have 'of our Meaning by *Revelation*, fancying we 'underſtand whimſical Raptures, ſtrange and 'prodigious Trances; but ſuch imagine evil of 'Things they know not: We diſclaim any 'Share or Intereſt in thoſe vain Whimſies and 'idle Intoxications, profeſſing our Revelation 'to be a ſolid and neceſſary Diſcovery from 'the Lord, of thoſe Things that do import 'and concern our daily Condition, in reference 'to the Honour which is due to him, and 'Care owing to our own Souls.' *W. Penn*'s Serious Apology, pag. 87. 1671.

'We diſtinguiſh betwixt a Revelation of a 'new Goſpel, and new Doctrines, and a new 'Revelation of the good old Goſpel and Doc-'trines; the laſt we plead for, but the firſt we 'utterly deny.' *R. Barclay*'s Apology, pag. 91.

'We diſtinguiſh of immediate Revelation, 'and ſay 'tis two-fold, either in Kind or

'Degree; now tho' we believe the immediate 'Revelation which we have, is from the ſame 'holy Spirit that opened in the Prophets and 'Apoſtles, and them that gave forth the holy 'Scriptures; yet we do not ſay, it is the ſame 'Revelation for Degree which they had, but 'that it is the ſame for Kind. *Secondly*, We do 'not plead for any new Goſpel, Faith or Doc-'trine, in Oppoſition to or different from that 'which Chriſt and his holy Prophets and 'Apoſtles taught, and is recorded in the Scrip-'tures of Truth, but for the Revelation of that 'which they taught, and is therein recorded.' *R. Claridge*'s Lux Evangelica, pag. 84.

'The Revelation which we own, is the 'Diſcovery or Illumination of the Light and 'Spirit of God, relating to thoſe Things that 'properly and immediately concern the daily 'Information and Satisfaction of our Souls, 'in the Way of our Duty to God and our 'Neighbour.' *Fuller*'s Reply to *Boyſe*, Sect. 3. pag. 40.

'We renounce all fantaſtical and whimſical 'Intoxications, or any Pretence to the Revela-'tion of new Matter, Goſpel, Faith or Doc-'trine, in Oppoſition to or different from that 'which our Saviour, his holy Prophets and 'Apoſtles taught, and is recorded in the Scrip-'tures of Truth. *Ibid.*'

Secondly,

Secondly, Some Scripture Texts in Support of *Divine Inſpiration.*

'But there is a Spirit in Man; and the In-
'ſpiration of the Almighty giveth them an
'Underſtanding. *Job* xxxii. 8.

'That was the true Light, which lighteth
'every Man that cometh into the World.
John i. 9.

'But the Manifeſtation of the Spirit, is
'given to every Man to profit withal. 1 *Cor.*
xii. 7.

'That which may be known of God, is
'manifeſt in them; for God hath ſhewed it
'unto them. *Rom.* i. 19.

'For the Grace of God that bringeth Sal-
'vation, hath appeared to all Men; teaching
'us, that denying Ungodlineſs, and worldly
'Luſts, we ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly, and
'godly in this preſent World, looking for that
'bleſſed Hope, and the glorious Appearing of
'the great God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt,
'who gave himſelf for us, that he might re-
'deem us from all Iniquity, and purify unto
'himſelf a peculiar People, zealous of good
'Works. Theſe Things ſpeak and exhort, and
'rebuke with all Authority. Let no Man de-
'ſpiſe thee. *Titus* ii. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

'No Man knoweth the Son but the Father: 'Neither Knoweth any Man the Father ſave 'the Son, and he to whomſoever the Son will 'reveal him. *Mat.* xi. 27.

'No Man can ſay that Jeſus is the Lord, 'but by the holy Ghoſt. 1 *Cor.* xii. 3.

'But ye are not in the Fleſh, but in the 'Spirit, if ſo be that the Spirit of God dwell 'in you. Now if any Man have not the Spirit 'of Chriſt, he is none of his.—But if the Spirit 'of him that raiſed up Jeſus from the Dead, 'dwell in you; he that raiſed up Chriſt from 'the Dead, ſhall alſo quicken your mortal 'Bodies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.— 'The Spirit itſelf beareth Witneſs with our 'Spirit, that we are the Children of God. *Rom.* viii. 9—11—16.

'But God hath revealed them unto us by 'his Spirit: For the Spirit ſearcheth all Things, 'yea, the deep Things of God. For what 'Man knoweth the Things of a Man, ſave the 'Spirit of Man which is in him? Even ſo 'the Things of God knoweth no Man, but 'the Spirit of God. Now we have received 'not the Spirit of the World, but the Spirit 'which is of God; that we might know the 'Things that are given us of God. 1 *Cor.* ii. 10, 11, 12.

'But

'But ye have an Unction from the holy 'One, and ye know all Things.— But the 'Anointing which ye have received of him, 'abideth in you: And ye need not that any 'Man teach you; but, as the ſame Anointing 'teacheth you of all Things, and is Truth, and 'is no Lie. 1 *John* ii. 20—27.

'And hereby we know that he abideth in 'us, by the Spirit which he hath given us.— 'Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and 'he in us, becauſe he hath given us of his 'Spirit. 1 *John* iii. 24. and iv. 13.

'God who commanded Light to ſhine out 'of Darkneſs, hath ſhined into our Hearts, to 'give the Light of the Knowledge of the 'Glory of God, in the Face of Jeſus Chriſt. 'But we have this Treaſure in earthen Veſſels. 2 *Cor*. iv. 6, 7.

'Thou gaveſt alſo thy good Spirit to inſtruct 'them. *Nehem*. ix. 20.

'I will put my Law in their inward Parts, 'and write it in their Hearts, and will be their 'God, and they ſhall be my People. And they 'ſhall teach no more every Man his Neigh- 'bour, and every Man his Brother, ſaying, 'Know the Lord: For they ſhall all know me, 'from the leaſt of them to the greateſt of them, 'ſaith the Lord. *Jer*. xxxi. 33, 34.

'I will

'I will put my Spirit within you, and cause 'you to walk in my Statutes.' *Ezek.* xxxvi. 27.

It is manifest to all unprejudiced Persons, that infinite Wisdom has not left us to ourselves, but that he is near us, during the Day of our Visitation, to teach and instruct us by his Grace and holy Spirit, what we should avoid, and what we should come up in the Practice of, agreeable to the afore-mentioned Passages of the Apostle in his Epistle to *Titus*. How far the Author of the *Modern History*, or any others, may think proper to despise the Exhortation of the inspired Penman, well merits Consideration.

Thirdly, and *lastly*, Some *Collects* of the National Church; to which are added, the Sentiments of some of her most eminent Writers on that Head.

First Collect in the Communion Service. 'Almighty God, unto whom all Hearts be open, 'all Desires known, and from whom no Secrets 'are hid, cleanse the Thoughts of our Hearts 'by the *Inspiration of thy holy Spirit*, that we 'may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify 'thy holy Name.'

Coll. for the fifth Sunday after Easter. 'O 'Lord, from whom all good Things do come, 'grant to us thy humble Servants, that by *thy*

'*holy*

'*holy Inſpiration* we may think thoſe Things 'that be good.'

A Prayer for the Clergy and People. 'Send 'down upon our Biſhops, and Curates, and all 'Congregations committed to their Charge, the 'healthful Spirit of *thy Grace.*'

A Prayer for all Conditions of Men. 'More 'eſpecially we pray thee for the good Eſtate of 'the Catholick Church, that it may be ſo 'guided and governed by *thy good Spirit.*'

St. Stephen's *Day.* 'And being *filled* with 'the *holy Ghoſt*, may learn to love and bleſs 'thoſe who perſecute us, *&c.*'

Quinquageſima Sunday. 'Send thy *holy Ghoſt*, 'and pour into our Hearts.'

Good Friday 2d Coll. 'Almighty and ever-'laſting God, by *whoſe Spirit* the whole Body 'of the Church is governed and ſanctified.'

Whitſunday. 'God, who as at this Time 'didſt teach the Hearts of thy faithful People, 'by the ſending to them the Light of *thy holy* 'Spirit; grant us by the ſame Spirit.'

Ninth Sunday after Trinity. 'Grant to us, 'Lord, we beſeech thee, *the Spirit* to think and 'do always ſuch Things as be rightful.

Nineteenth

Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity. 'Mercifully 'grant, that *thy holy Spirit* may in all Things 'direct and rule our Hearts.'

Article 13. 'Works done before the Grace 'of Chrift, and the *Inſpiration* of his Spirit, 'are not pleaſing to God.'

The Litany. 'That it may pleaſe thee to *illu-* '*minate* all Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, *&c.*'

In the Ordination for Prieſts, &c. The Biſhop having acquainted the Perſons who are to be Ordained, of the great Excellence and Dignity of their Office, and their Inſufficiency for it of themſelves, Power and Ability being given them *of God alone*, thus beſpeaks them: 'Therefore ye ſee how ye ought and have Need 'earneſtly to pray for *his holy Spirit.*—Adding, 'We have good Hope, that you will continu- 'ally pray for the *heavenly Aſſiſtance* of the holy 'Ghoſt from God the Father, by the Medi- 'ation of our only Mediator and Saviour Jeſus 'Chriſt, that by daily reading and weighing 'of the Scriptures, ye may ſo wax riper and 'ſtronger in your Miniſtry.'—After which, the Biſhop puts ſeveral Queſtions, to which they are ſeverally to anſwer.—Then the Congregation are deſired, ſecretly in their Prayers to make humble Supplication to God, for the foreſaid Things; for the which Prayer, there ſhall be *a certain Space of Silence.*—Then the Biſhop prays, and among other Expreſſions

'ſaith,

ſaith, 'Almighty and heavenly Father, — We 'humbly beſeech thee, — That we may daily 'increaſe and go forward in the Knowledge 'and Faith of thee and thy Son, by *the holy* '*Spirit.*' — Which when ended, the Biſhop, with the Prieſts preſent, ſhall lay their Hands ſeverally upon the Head of every one that receiveth Orders, the Receivers humbly kneeling upon their Knees, and the Biſhop ſaying, RECEIVE THE HOLY GHOST.

Archbiſhop USHER. 'It is required that we 'have the *Spirit of God*, as well to open our 'Eyes to ſee the Light, as to ſeal up fully to 'our Hearts the Truth which we ſee with 'our Eyes; for the ſame holy Spirit that 'inſpired the Scripture, (1 *Cor.* ii. 10. and 'xiv. 37. *Epheſ.* i. 13.) inclineth the Hearts 'of God's Children to believe what is revealed 'in them, beyond all Reaſons and Arguments, 'that theſe are the Scriptures of God'. *Sum and Subſtance of the* Chriſtian *Religion*, pag. 11, 12. 6th Edit.

'The Teſtimony of *God's Spirit* in the 'Hearts of his Faithful, is greater than any 'human Perſwaſions grounded upon Reaſon, 'or Witneſſes of Men.' *Ibid.* pag. 12.

Biſhop JEWEL. 'Fleſh and Blood is not able 'to underſtand the holy Will of God, with-'out *ſpecial Revelation*; therefore Chriſt gave 'Thanks unto his Father, for that he had *re-*

 '*vealed*

'*vealed* his Secrets to the little Ones, *Mat.* xi. 'and likewise *opened* the Hearts of his Dis-'ciples, that they might *understand* the Scrip-'tures, *Luke* xxiv. 45. Without the special Help 'and prompting of *God's holy Spirit*, the Word 'of God is unto the Reader, be he never so 'wise or well learned, as the Vision of a *sealed* '*Book*.' *Reply to* Harding's *Answer*, pag. 534.

Archbishop SANDYS, in a Sermon preached before Queen *Elizabeth*, on *Psal.* lxxxvi. 11. *Teach me thy Ways, O Lord, and I will walk in thy Truth*, has the following Expressions. 'Christ only *openeth* the Book of Knowledge, '*giveth* Understanding, and *revealeth* unto us 'the Will of his Father.—The *Spirit* only is 'the Schoolmaster, that *inwardly* guideth the 'Heart in the Way of Truth.' *See his Sermons printed in* 1616, Pag. 49.

Bishop FOWLER of *Glocester*, in his *Design of Christianity*, Pag. 106, treats of the *sending* the Holy Ghost to excite us to our Duty, and assist, chear and comfort us in the Performance of it; and then says, 'This doth the Gospel 'assure us of, as also that those which do not 'resist and repel his good Motions, shall be 'sure to have always the Superintendency of 'this *blessed Spirit*, and that he will never for-'sake them, but abide with them for ever, and 'carry them from one Degree of Grace to 'another.'

The

The learned DANIEL WHITBY, Chanter of the Church of *Sarum*, Author of *a Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament*, hath an *Appendix* to the sixth Chapter of the second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, to show the Necessity of the *inward Help* of the Grace of God, to enable us to perform our Duties, and live as becometh *Christians*; in which he largely proves, 'That it is necessary to assert that God 'vouchsafes to Men, not only the outward 'Dispensations of his Word, to be the ordinary 'Means of their Conversion and Sanctification, 'but also some *inward* Assistances and Opera-'tions of his holy Spirit:' *In which he says*, 'To say these Things and these Expressions, 'concern only the Times in which the extra-'ordinary Gifts and Operations of the holy 'Spirit were vouchsafed, is to make future 'Ages, since the Ceasing of those Gifts, despair 'of being quickned, sanctified or comforted, 'or even enabled to purify the Heart, or to 'mortify the Deeds of the Flesh, to live or 'walk in the Spirit; and consequently to despair 'of being now the Sons of God, united to Jesus 'Christ, or having any of the Fruits of the 'Spirit wrought within them.—This Abode of 'the good Spirit with us, is represented not 'only as the highest Privilege, but as the in-'estimable Advantage of the *Christian*.' With much more strong and excellent Doctrine to the same Effect, through eight Pages in Folio in the said *Appendix*; to which we must refer.

Dr. Lucas, in his *Enquiry after Happineſs*, Pag. 89, ſays, 'I can eaſily believe that my 'Temper may be transformed, my Corruptions 'may be put off, and I be made Partaker of a 'divine Nature, ſince the Spirit of God will '*dwell with me*, the Light of God will always '*ſhine upon me*, and the Power of God will 'always *ſuccour me*.'

John Lock, in his ſecond Volume in Folio, Pag. 537, ſays, 'To theſe I muſt add one Ad-'vantage more by Jeſus Chriſt, and that is the 'Promiſe of *Aſſiſtance*; if we do what we can, 'he will give us *his Spirit* to help us to do 'what and how we ſhould. 'Twill be idle for 'us, who know not how our own Spirits move 'and act us, to aſk in what Manner the Spirit 'of God ſhall work upon us? The Wiſdom 'that accompanies that Spirit, knows better 'than we how we are made, and how to 'work upon us.'

In his *Paraphraſe* on 1 *Cor.* ii. 10. he ſays, 'But theſe Things that are not diſcoverable by 'Mens natural Faculties and Power, God hath '*revealed* to us by his Spirit.'—On 1 *Cor.* xii. 3. he ſays, 'All that own our Lord Jeſus Chriſt 'and believe in him, do it by the *Spirit of God*; 'that is, can do it upon no other Ground but '*Revelation* coming from the *Spirit of God*.

Ibid.

Ibid. Pag. 302. 'Tis the Spirit of God 'alone that enlivens Men, ſo as to enable them 'to caſt off the Dominion of their Luſts.'

Dr. WATERLAND, on the *Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, Pag. 62, 63, 64, quotes with Approbation the following Words from Dr. SHERLOCK; 'Our Salvation by Chriſt, 'conſiſts not only in the Expiation of our Sins, '*&c.* but in the Communication of divine 'Grace, and Power to renew and ſanctify us; 'and this is every where in Scripture attributed 'to the *holy Spirit*, as his peculiar Office in the 'Oeconomy of Man's Salvation: And it muſt 'make a fundamental Change in the Doctrine 'of divine Grace and Aſſiſtance, to deny the 'Divinity of the holy Ghoſt. For can a Crea-'ture be the univerſal Spring and Fountain of '*divine Grace* and *Life?* Can a Creature make 'ſuch cloſe Application to our Minds, know 'our *Thoughts*, ſet Bounds to our *Paſſions*, in-'ſpire us with *new Affections* and *Deſires*, &c.'

Biſhop STILLINGFLEET, in his *Origines Sacræ*, Book 2. Cap. 10. Sect. 5. ſays, 'God has 'promiſed his Spirit to be a Witneſs *within* '*them*, (*Believers*) that by its working and 'ſtrengthning Grace in their Hearts, it may 'confirm to them the Truth of the Records of 'Scripture, when they find the Counterpart of 'them written in their Hearts by the Finger 'of the Spirit of God.'

In

In a Treatise intituled, *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, recommended by Bishop BURNETT, are the following Words, pag. 97. 'That there is a New Birth, and a divine inward Operation of the Spirit of God, which does constantly exert itself in the Souls of the adopted Sons of God, but chiefly in their *Regeneration*, is a Truth so sacred and certain, that none who have any Acquaintance with the *inward* Ways of God, can so much as question it.'

Ibid. pag. 99. 'This is most sacrilegiously restrained to the *extraordinary Effusion* of the Holy Ghost on *Pentecost*. — This is clearly contrary both to the Promises of the Old and New Testament, and the whole Current of the New, and to nothing more than our Saviour's *most divine Prayer*, wherein he expresses he was not interceeding for his Disciples only, but for all that should believe on him through their Word. — So that all those sublime Effects of the divine Spirit, of *being one in God, that Christ might be in them*, &c. are there pray'd for, and certainly granted them.'

JOHN SMITH, of *Cambridge*, in his *Select Discourses*, pag. 384, says, 'Besides the outward Revelation of God's Will to Men, there is also an *inward* Impression of it on their Minds and Spirits, which is in a more special

'Manner

'Manner attributed to God. — We cannot ſee 'divine Things, but in a divine Light.'

Dr. HAMMOND, in the *Preface* before his *Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament*, pag. 10. ſays, 'There is Need of God's illuminating 'Spirit to aſſiſt our weak Eyes, our dark Fa-'culties.'—And on *Luke* xxiv. 45, he ſays, 'By 'the ſpecial Operation of his Spirit, He (that 'is, Chriſt) gave them the *Underſtanding* of the 'Scriptures, in thoſe Things eſpecially which 'concerned the *Meſſias*.'

Dr. JOHN EDWARDS, in his *Free Diſcourſe concerning Truth and Error*, pag. 481, ſays, 'God is the *Author* of all divine Truth, and of 'the *Diſcovery* of it made to us. An inward 'Enlightning and Irradiating the Mind by the 'holy Spirit, is abſolutely neceſſary for the 'apprehending of the divine Myſteries which 'are contained in the Doctrines of the Goſpel.'

Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, in his Sermons *on the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt*, which are N° 12 and 13 of the 10th Volume in 8vo. pag. 352, ſays it ſignifies 'A ſpecial Power and Preſence 'of the Holy Ghoſt with Believers, or the 'immediate Operation and Aſſiſtance of the 'divine Spirit communicated and imparted to 'them. — It doth alſo ſignify and comprehend 'in it, a more ordinary and gentle Influence of 'God's Spirit upon the Minds of Men, to all 'holy and good Purpoſes; by which I mean,

'an

'an immediate Operation and Assistance of the 'holy Spirit afforded to Men, to relieve the 'Weakness and Impotence of human Nature, 'to help and strengthen us to the Performance 'of what the Gospel requires of us.' — After which, he opens the Nature of it, and the Necessity of it, to enable us to perform the Condition of the Gospel Covenant, and 'That 'this Power does continually dwell and reside 'in all *true Christians*, if we do not grieve the 'Spirit of God, and provoke him to withdraw 'it from us.'—But for the blessed Effects thereof, and its Extent as to Persons and Things, we must refer the Reader to the said two Sermons, which are well worthy his perusing; just observing that he says, 'This divine Influence and Assistance, was not limited to the 'extraordinary Effusion of the holy Spirit on 'the Day of *Pentecost*, but that it is to all succeeding Ages;' which he fully proves from Scripture.

And in the first of those *Sermons* are the following excellent Words, 'But after all this is 'done for us, we are still without *Strength*, 'our Nature being depraved and sunk into that 'Impotency and Weakness, that without the 'powerful Assistance of *Divine Grace*, we are 'utterly unable to perform those most equal 'and reasonable Conditions, which the *Gospel* 'requires of us, being, as the Scripture expresses 'it, *dead in Trespasses and Sins, and estranged* '*from the Life of God through the Darkness*

'*that*

'*that is in us, and the Blindness of our Hearts.*
'Being *enslaved to vitious Habits, and having a*
'*carnal Mind, which is Enmity to God*, and
'renders us incapable to receive or relish *Divine*
'and *Spiritual Things:* So that notwithstand-
'ing all that our blessed Saviour hath done and
'suffered for us, and all the merciful Overtures
'of *Pardon* and *Happiness*, which the *Gospel*
'makes to us, all this will signify nothing to
'our Benefit and Advantage, unless our *Impo-*
'*tency* be relieved, and *new Life* and *Strength*
'be conveyed to us, to awaken and excite us
'to that which is good, to enable us to mortify
'and subdue our *evil* and *corrupt Inclinations*,
'to break off our *vitious Habits*, and to walk
'in the Ways of *God's Commandments*; for we
'are not sufficient of ourselves, as of ourselves,
'for any of these Things, but our Sufficiency
'is of God: Without Christ *we can do nothing*,
'and it is only through him strengthening of
'us, that we are able to do all these Things,
'which are necessary to be done by us, in order
'to the obtaining that Happiness and Salvation
'which the *Gospel* has promised, and our *Sa-*
'*viour* hath purchased for us. And therefore
'our *merciful Redeemer*, that he might not
'leave his Work imperfect, hath sent his blessed
'Spirit into our Hearts, to enlighten the Eyes
'of our Minds, and to open and dispose our
'Understandings, for to receive of *divine* and
'*spiritual Truths*, to conquer likewise the Per-
'verseness and Stubbornness of our *Wills*, and
'to set us at Liberty from the Slavery of our

'*Lusts, (for where the Spirit of God is,* as St. '*Paul* tells us, *there is Liberty)* to renew our 'Natures, and to purify our Hearts, to mortify 'our corrupt Affections, and to assist us to 'every good Word and Work, to strengthen 'us against Temptations, to support us under 'Sufferings and Persecutions, and in a Word, 'to keep us by the mighty Power of God, and 'gracious Assistance of his Holy Spirit, thro' 'Faith unto *Salvation.*'

I heartily wish the foregoing Hints might engage the serious Attention of all, into whose Hands they may drop; because, from what little Remarks I have been capable of making, the most pious Men, in all Ages, have esteemed it of the greatest Importance, to be *acquainted* with the Teachings of the Grace of God, in order to arrive at the saving Knowledge of his Will concerning them, that they might be *Christians* indeed in his Sight, such in whom Christ by *his Spirit* tabernacles with; for we are assured, that *if he is not in us,* (notwithstanding all our Pretences to Religion) *we are Reprobates,* 2 Cor. xiii. 5. And, *if we have not the Spirit of Christ, we are none of his,* Rom. viii. 9.

I have frequently admired, how any professing to be *Ministers of the Gospel,* or indeed, to the noble Name of a *Christian,* should deny and ridicule so important a Doctrine, treating that